







# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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## THE CENTRAL BUDGET

ONE of the greatest of India's British Finance Members, Sir Guy Fleetwood Wilson, once declared, somewhat adapting the better known saying of Clausewitz in regard to war, that public finance was not a mere matter of juggling with figures but an expression of policy. Our Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai will not, we feel sure, deviate to our approaching budget from this standpoint. He himself says: "Fiscal policy is not an end in itself but has to serve the ends of national policy" and towards the close of his Budget speech again he says: ". . . we have still a formidable task ahead of us, the task of fighting want, sickness and poverty, and raising the living standards of the millions to whom the emancipation of the country will be a mockery unless it is translated in terms of opportunities for a fuller, freer and better life." This surely is no mere conventional profession of ultimate objectives. We know that Dr. Matthai accepted his great office only under a compelling sense of public duty. We are also aware that Dr. Matthai labours under grievous limitations in that the current transitional period through which the country is passing presents internal problems of quite exceptional magnitude and difficulty and external problems making for the most bewildering and even alarming instability.

Even so, one must confess to a sense of profound disappointment that after so frank and forthright a statement of the objective of financial policy, there is, in the actual proposals of the budget, not even the faintest shadow of a concession to the millions to whom mere political freedom has so far been a cruel mockery. On the contrary, there is an almost unconscionable intensification of the burden that oppresses them so heavily already. Harassed as they have been by the manifold and continuing evils of inflation and by the bewildering inadequacies and uncertainties of price and consumption controls, by shortages of essential goods, by ruthless profiteering, through the years of the war and the period that followed its close, they have come to regard current conditions as almost normal and cherish no dreams of sudden improvement in their lot. They are also aware that unlike the great money-barons of Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi, unlike even the railway and postal workers, they can bring no pressure of organized resistance to bear on Government to compel concessions to their needs. But they may well exclaim, "Et tu Brute" when they find Dr. Matthai adding so formidably to the weight of indirect taxation which bears already so oppressively on them. Natural-born philosophers all of them, they will

put it down to their Karma, and, after a few murmurs of discontent, reconcile themselves to everything that the budget contains. They are however not likely to be impressed by the plea that if the 'haves' get more substantial and spectacular relief, it is designed chiefly in the interests of the 'have-nots.' They have heard that argument all their lives.

Dr. Matthai, we realize, has an almost impossible situation to handle. Further advances in direct taxation, further soaking of the rich, would grievously deter enterprise and investment, in view of the exceptional resolution and firmness with which organized capital has been adhering to its rather unpatriotic line in many matters. A bolder Finance Member would have accepted the challenge and perhaps come forward with drastic schemes of conscription of capital. But caution, almost amounting to timidity, marks Dr. Matthai's approach to the problem of an exceptionally shy and vagarious, and unusually stagnant capital market. We can only hope that Dr. Matthai's concessions will impress those who control the capital market sufficiently to make them come forward and co-operate in the expansion of production which these concessions are designed to stimulate.

Many features of the current economic situation in the country will strike the observer as extremely curious and even contradictory. Side by side with the stagnation in the capital market, we have high prices and an exceptionally large, growing, and insistent demand for consumption goods. We see a steady recession of security and stock prices, but no diminution in the

dividend-paying capacity of the established companies. What is wrong? Dr. Matthai echoing the spokesman of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce, says that there is a certain lack of confidence. Confidence is an exceedingly delicate and tender thing but like a woman's reputation, the more it is talked about, the less there is of it!

The main proposals of Dr. Matthai are designed to revive and stimulate confidence in the business world. The utterly unblest and sterile capital gains tax of which Dr. Matthai was a lone friend in the bad old Liaquat Ali Khan days, goes, There is a substantial reduction in the rate of tax on the higher ranges of personal income, which it is hoped will stimulate increased saving and investment by those classes who seem now to stand shyly, almost sullenly aloof. The increased depreciation allowance now proposed for new plant as well as for plant working triple shifts, on the now favoured principle of replacement cost should stimulate industrial expansion. The spokesmen of big business may, even so, affect to despise these crumbs of comfort and point to the absence of anything like Sir Stafford Cripps' candid confession that "soaking" of the rich had been carried to the point of economic danger. They may well say that the Government speaks with multiple voices on the all-important question of future industrial policy. They may point to the exceptional and almost prohibitive cost of capital goods, even when they happen to be available, to the non-availability of dollars exchange, and to the growing minatory and disquietude of organized labour and offsetting and sterilizing the well-meant incentives of the Finance Minister. But the

country," which has borne so heroically so many hardships and sacrifices in the past, in order that national industrial enterprise may have its legitimate opportunity and which has magnanimously forgiven much sharp practice on the part of Indian big business, will, we feel sure, utterly refuse to forgive those who in this hour of the country's mortal economic danger continue to stand unpatriotically aloof. If industry doesn't respond and seize the opportunity now offered to it by a country sorely strained and come forward with bold and well-designed schemes of expansion, the fight against inflation, which depends so much on increased production will fail with incalculably grave consequences to the country's economy and even its internal peace.

The concessions to the lower income groups will certainly be welcome to them. They have always accepted any tiny crumb that came their way as a generous boon. But some of the new taxation proposals designed to operate as much to yield revenue as to check unnecessary expenditure by the public, will practically neutralize these concessions and bear almost oppressively on the lower middle class, especially the increase in the price of the post-card, and the excises on mill cloth and sugar. They will increase the cost of living still further and may be followed by a demand for additional allowances on the part of the salaried classes. But in the current inflationary situation, on the other hand, they may lead to a drastic curtailment of expenditure and that will be altogether salutary though the standard of

life may be depressed in the process somewhat.

Dr. Matthai has tried to distribute the burdens as evenly as circumstances permitted. We can only hope that all classes in the country will realize the gravity of the situation and while demanding more austerity in high places and drastic retrenchment in government expenditure, realize the need to pull together and fight the greatest danger now threatening the country, a run-away inflation.

The Government for their part, should postpone, for the duration of the current crisis, all non-essential schemes and firmly cut down the weedy administrative over-growths in the Central Secretariat. The only justifiable expenditure in these difficult days is that which unmistakably and urgently ministers to public necessity. Also new and more vigorous savings drive is called for, one especially designed to encourage and, in a measure, even compel saving by the lower income groups. In their anxiety to encourage the rich industrial goose to go on laying golden eggs, let not Government disdain such contribution as the little squirrels of the village folks can make to arrest the country's disastrous drift towards economic chaos. A more intensive food production campaign all over India will ease the current dependence on imports of food which cost so much and release hard currency for industrial expansion projects. More than all, a comprehensive inquiry into the whole tax structure of the country should be ordered without delay.

# OUR FOREIGN POLICY

BY MR. P. S. NAIR, B.A.

THE recent debates on foreign policy in the Union Parliament mark the advent of a new epoch in India's relation with the outside world. As Pandit Nehru stated, India's foreign relations are rather "vague, inchoate and groping about", as she has not yet stabilised her position in the International world after the advent of Independence. Normally foreign policy constitutes the primary duty of administration in advanced countries like U.S.A. and U.K., where it is a non-controversial item in domestic politics, although parties may differ in details.

Foreign policy is moulded by the prevailing circumstances in the national and international affairs and is not a subject for dialectical controversy. "It is a reasoned line of action taken in relation to conditions as present and as seen and understood with a view to improving them." As H. J. Laski stated "no foreign policy can directly contradict domestic policy." In America there is even a convention that no American statesman when outside the State should criticise the foreign policy of the Government.

George Glasgow in a recent article on Australian foreign policy remarks that Foreign policy is largely determined by the Geographical and Political relations of the State with the rest of the world. As the insular position of Britain made her a great Naval power and the Custodian of a big Empire in which the sun never sets; as the wealth and virginity of the vast Home territories of U. S. A. made her discard any idea of a territorial expansion and to concentrate on economic imperialism; so

also India's peculiar strategic position near the gate-way to the Far East is sure to add to her importance in future international affairs. It was this which gave her in the past the role of a cultural missionary; it will be the same which will make her in the future a great unifying and stabilising factor in world politics. In the present context of the competing power politics of U.S.A. and U. S. S. R., her geographical proximity to the latter will make a friendly Soviet indispensable for the safety of India although India's two century relation with Britain will prevent her from falling into the arms of Russia in her diplomatic war against the Anglo-Saxon combination. Hence Nheru's line of independent policy has much to commend itself though it is neither spectacular nor inspiring.

"Defence" said Adam Smith, "is of much more importance than opulence". If defences are neglected the country goes to the wall. The chief work of the Foreign Minister is to devote his time to understand the currents and crosscurrents of the different influences at work in the international field and to shape the State's relations with others that its independence and integrity are secured and recognised by others. When the idea of a world State becomes a reality the allegiance which we owe to the nation will be transferred to it; but for the present the primary duty is to one's own country and not to international organisations like the late lamented League of Nations or to the present imbecile infant U.N.O.

There are three essential conditions for the successful execution of a sound foreign policy (1) Coalition of friendly powers to resist any possible combination of hostile powers (2) preservation of the independence of all powers within striking distance of the country (3) Maintaining sufficient armed strength and keeping it ready for a fight.

Whether India's potential enemy is the Anglo-Saxon or the Soviet Block it is essential she should have a coalition of friendly powers at her back who can be relied upon in times of emergency to support her. Through sheer necessity the nations of South East Asia, Ceylon, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam and Indonesia will look to India for defence purposes and it is up to India's interest to canalise their energies into concrete action for common benefit. The recent Dutch aggression in Indonesia has brought about this play of geography into prominence and it is hoped Indian Statesmen will rise to the occasion to forge the first bond of unity with that distressed neighbour.\*

India's first requirement for a successful foreign policy is a diplomatic Corps which can be relied upon to further her interests in the other capitals. Diplomacy is not duplicity and an ambassador is not always "an honest man who is sent to lie abroad for the good of his country". Diplomacy is the art of representing States and conducting negotiations. Similarly policy is not cowardice but a reasoned line of action taken in relation to conditions as present

\* Pandit Nehru and the recent Indonesian Conference at Delhi have since given the right lead in this direction.—[Ed. I.R.]

and as seen and understood with a view to improving them. It is the application of mind and means to conditions for an object immediate or distant or both.

India has already sent representatives to many capitals but they are mostly untrained hands or civilians inexperienced in the art of negotiations. Experience is no doubt the best teacher but the country's interests cannot be sacrificed in the process of teaching them to be good ambassadors or High Commissioners. In the days of Dumreicher, Elder Bulow and Tallayrand, diplomacy depended largely upon personal cleverness and judgment. But with the increasing popularity of open diplomacy through Conferences, it has become more scientific and its routine and rules have attained greater prominence and a knowledge of international law has become indispensable. There are the increasing accumulation of international precedents and conventions brought into being during the last half a century which they should master before they can be called upon to any post of direct diplomatic duty.

#### THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This Review is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiased survey of the political panorama will find it in *The Indian Review—Illustrated Weekly of India*.

# SARDAR PATEL IN MADRAS

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Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, who arrived in Madras on a two-day visit, addressed a large gathering of business men on February 28, at the Rajaji Hall, where a reception was accorded to him by six Chambers of Commerce. In a lengthy speech in reply to a joint address by the Chambers, Sardar Patel touched on a number of problems referred to in the address, particularly the apprehension felt in regard to nationalisation of industries.—[ED. I. R.]

## THE TRUCULENCE OF LABOUR

*Labour is in a truculent mood, said the Sardar and pointed to the attitude of a Section of the Railwaymen*

A part of the labour organisation, namely, the Railwaymen's Federation, has announced that it is not in favour of a strike. But you can see from their pronouncement that they have not yet sheathed the sword. They keep it handy. The other portion of the railway labour organisation has already given notice of a strike. Now, I can only imagine the disastrous consequences, the effect of which will be felt not only in the area where there is a strike, but the whole country will suffer terribly. It is to this labour that you want us to give a correct lead. All that the Government can do is to lock up a certain number of people—not a pleasant task—so that there will be less trouble. We could not even think of locking them up unless we were informed on good grounds that not only did they mean to go on strike, but they also meant disruption, dislocation and sabotage for which society would have to pay very dearly. So the Provinces which were concerned and also other Provinces took action and rounded up a certain number of young men. Then the Railwaymen's Federation comes out with a statement that this is wrong and the Government should not do it. Assuming that this advice is good and the Government accepts their advice as a result of which things happen and there is dislocation, disruption and sabotage in the railway, who will suffer and who will guarantee that this will not be the consequence?

## MISREPRESENTATION BY LABOUR LEADERS

*Labour is not in the hands of the people who can guide them properly, and the Government is being persistently and continuously represented by those leaders as a Government of the capitalists*

This kind of dishonest misrepresentation by those who are in charge of labour will some day, if they succeed, lead to serious consequences. You see what is going on in China, Malaya and Burma. These countries are not far away from us. They are on our borders. This is the situation in which the Government has to see that labour while it gets its due, does not create a situation in which nothing is safe—neither the State, nor trade and industry, nor labour itself. It is easy for anybody

to say that the Government should give the correct lead. But it is difficult for the Government to do anything single-handed. Therefore on behalf of the Government I can only appeal to you all to realise your own responsibilities and working in your own spheres co-operate with the Government

## TRADE'S DEMAND FOR REPRESENTATION

*Referring to the request in the address for representation in the Legislatures for trade and industry, Sardar Patel asked of what avail would be their small representation in the midst of a huge majority elected on the basis of adult franchise. Their voice would be feeble*

But you have immense potentiality to influence Government from outside. You hold a key position. You can dictate, provided you mix self-interest with patriotism. Unless you do that, however sympathetic the Government may be, you cannot succeed."

## CLOTH CONTROL

*Turning to the complaint about cloth control and the repeated change of policy Sardar Patel gave vent to some plain speaking. Addressing businessmen he said:*

Ask your conscience what you did when you removed the control? (Cheers). Who is to blame? What can Government do however sympathetic they may be? Even now, why do the Government want control? Control means opening the floodgate of corruption. The moment you impose control you invite corruption. People complain again. the Government and all blame falls on Government. When controls were removed, you have not been helpful. All over the country, the temper of the people was roused by black marketing on the removal of cloth control. So, Government had no alternative but to reimpose it. Take food control. It was with great difficulty that Gandhiji succeeded in persuading the Governments to remove control. The Government were advised that they have not enough food in the country and the Provinces were not willing to contribute to the common pool. We have reached the very low ebb of our moral standards and, therefore, we are suffering.

The Government, even when they removed controls did so hesitatingly and provisionally. I told Gandhiji

that we did not feel safe, but shall try the experiment, and keep the machinery going so that if we felt conditions are such that people died of starvation, we can reimpose it. We are importing foodgrains to the tune of Rs. 130 crores or more. That is why our economy has come to a breaking point. Therefore, unless people realise their own responsibilities—not only businessmen, but every Congressman and every public worker—and feel that every grain of foodstuff in this country is gold, that we must not waste it and that it is our duty to share our food with our starving neighbour, there is no ay out. If to-day even surplus provinces say, we have no food, give us more, what can you say of the deficit provinces? I believe there is plenty of food in the country. It is the moral degeneration that has ruined us. I am not used to concealing facts. Therefore, I am telling you plainly what our condition is. We have to tighten our belts. You complain that mills are full of stock. It is so. Let us sit together and find out whether we cannot, honestly co-operate. Businessmen, Government, industrialists, all of us must put our heads together, hands together, hearts together and work honestly.

*Government have no other interest except to serve the country and the people."*

Even businessmen will agree that we have no other interest. For the time being, the country's economy is suffering and the people are suffering. May I appeal to you to set aside profit motive for service motive? If you do, whatever the Government can do is at your service, because, we have no consideration except to serve you and to serve the people through you, and because we know we cannot serve the people except through you. You hold the key position. We can put up other agencies to distribute cloth, but we know we cannot succeed. (Laughter). They will also make profits. Congressmen also want their own price. Because they have gone to jail, they think this is the time for making money. It is all a vicious circle. You have compelled me to open my lips. Business is not my job. My job is to restore peace in the country and keep it, so that business men can prosper and thrive. I also know that if business does not prosper, if there is no wealth in the country, if there is no food or cloth, I cannot maintain law and order. The address you have presented to me is no address, but a long enumeration of the grievances you have against Government. (Laughter.) How will you like it if I on my part were to enumerate the grievances of the Government against you. That will not be proper for a guest who is receiving an address. Therefore, let us understand each other.

#### GOVERNMENT'S INDUSTRIAL POLICY

*Replying to the criticism that Government have not made their industrial policy clear the Sardar observed:*

They have often made their policy clear. Labour is suffering from one complex and businessmen are suffering from fear complex. What are you afraid of? Do you say that when we talk of nationalisation, you get perspiration? (Laughter) What risk are you going to take to raise the standard

of life? When the Government have not enough men even for running the administration, where is to be nationalisation?

We had, 1,500 men to run the administration of the country, which was called the Steel Frame. That Steel Frame was carrying on the Government in this country with an iron will in its own way and for its own purpose. Fifty-five per cent of the Steel Frame at one stroke was broken (at the time of partition). The European element which constituted the 55 per cent, had gone out. More than half of the other portion went away to Pakistan. With the achievement of freedom, we have to open embassies all over the world and in every embassy we have a member of that Steel Frame without which we cannot work. With one-fourth of that Steel Frame, we are running the administration now. How can there be nationalisation? I say that those who talk of destruction and sabotage and those who do not work, are the enemies of India. Those who talk less and do work day and night and those who put self-interest in the background, are the real patriots. Those who are facing the crisis manfully are the real patriots. Do not take me amiss when I say all this. I am not mincing matters."

"I have come here", Sardar Patel said with feeling, "after many years believing that I may not be able to come again. In the little portion of my life that is left, I want to see India raised high and made strong and put in a place where future generations can say that our elders were wise and gave us a legacy of which we can be proud."

#### NATIONALISATION NOT POSSIBLE NOW

*Appealing again to businessmen to understand the situation and realise their responsibility, Sardar Patel asked them*

Do you know how much evasion of income-tax there has been and is that the way to build the industry and commerce of the country? You should not be afraid of nationalisation. Take it from me as a gospel truth, that this Government have not the capacity to undertake nationalisation of any industry at present. If anyone talks of nationalisation, it is for leadership and not for nationalisation. I do not believe in that kind of leadership.

#### THE SARDAR'S TRIBUTE TO "C.R."

*The Sardar laid a glowing tribute to Rajaji the Governor-General while unveiling His Excellency's portrait at the Rajaji Hall.*

Rajaji is an acknowledged leader of our country. He is a great and wise statesman. It is our good fortune to have in a period of crisis the guidance of one on whom we can rely for advice and counsel. It was he who laid the foundations of parliamentary life in Madras, when we took office for the first time in a limited field of parliamentary life. Those were days when doubts were expressed as to the capacity of our people to carry on the work efficiently. There were also those who watched us; and not only watched us but wished to put us down. To-day we are in a different position. We are masters in our own house and in our country. It is for us to make or mar our

future. The future of the country depends on how we behave to-day and to-morrow and in the near future for a period of two, three or five years. Free India, the child born only a year ago, needs careful nursing, careful handling, careful feeding and strengthening. But people want it to run before it has learnt to walk! In this context, it is our good fortune that a great administrator, a wise statesman and a great patriot is at the helm of our affairs.

... "Let there be no mistake therefore" Sardar Patel said, "that a constitutional Governor General is a cypher."

He is like the integer which "gives value to the noughts that follow, for these noughts have value only if there is an integer in front of them. You must, therefore appreciate his position correctly. He knows how a constitutional Governor-General has to behave and he knows how to keep within limits and yet how to break limits. And, therefore, it is a great honour to have as Governor-General,—the first Indian in a free country,—a great man of a very high moral stature and great capacity and ability like him." (Cheers)



MRS SAROJINI NAIDU

BORN FEB. 13, 1879.

DIED : MARCH 2, 1949.

"The captains and kings of my generation depart. Old friends and dear comrades pass away. And now the dearest and brightest of them is gone. I feel desolate of heart and widowed in spirit."—*Pandit Nehru*.

# EUROPEAN RECOVERY PROGRAMME

BY PROF M. SATYANARAYANA, M.A., B.L.,

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FTER the United Nations Organisation has come into existence, the ideals which prompted the great nations to set up that Organisation have practically been given up by the very same nations by now. All the countries of the world have to choose whether openly or covertly to join one of the two opposing camps whether the Russian or the American. The gulf between the both is widening so fast that each group is preparing on War basis, thus creating conditions for a world war. Hence it may be instructive to know the causes of such a rift, the successive developments that embittered the relations between different countries and the problems that face the vacillating countries.

The reasons are not far to seek. The victors of the war have never been united in the policies they had to adopt with reference to the vanquished countries and those over-ran by the enemies. Russia took the first opportunity of extending its influence in the eastern part of Europe by entering into separate treaties with some of the countries in that part. The new republics that arose in Europe developed close relations with Russia and turned Communistic. All this was an eye-sore to the rest of the war-time allies. In fact for six years America led by the late President Roosevelt believed that Communism would be confined to Russia only and the latter would not spread its tentacles to areas outside it. It was only this belief that influenced President Roosevelt in offering unconditional aid to his Communist ally. By 1947 President Truman realised the futility of remaining silent and unequivocally

declared a reversal of American policy with regard to Soviet Russia.

The concrete implementation of change in policy was made when Mr Marshall, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in America, announced in his speech in the Harvard University on 5th June, 1947, that America would be prepared to assist the European countries provided the latter would agree among themselves and approach the American Government with realistic proposals. Mr Bevin and Mr Bidault earnestly responded to the hint and invited Mr. Molotov for a meeting in Paris on 27th June, 1947 to frame a reply to Mr Marshall. Russia was quite suspicious of all this. Mr. Molotov wanted that America should render unconditional aid. When agreement became impossible he walked out. On 3rd July, 1947 Messrs Bevin and Bidault issued notices to all European countries except Russia to participate in the conference that would be convened to discuss the aid proposal of Mr. Marshall. Representatives of the governments of the United Kingdom, France, Austria, Belgium, Luxembourg, Denmark, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey met in Paris on 12th July, 1947. They agreed, in the light of discussions made by them, to appoint committees to study the needs of Europe. The main committee set up submitted a report within a month afterwards.

On the other side the American Government appointed a committee of nineteen non-partisan men under the chairmanship of the then Commerce Secretary, Mr. Harriman in the month of June, 1947 to work out details

for offering aid to European countries as suggested by Mr. Marshall.

Russia closely watching these developments, rightly concluded that America was attempting to create a bloc to fight Communism. The Communist parties in the U.S.S.R., Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Roumania, Hungary, Poland, France, Czechoslovakia and Italy formed 'cominform' a study circle in October, 1947 for exchanging information among the member parties. America was nervous. The capitalist countries were afraid that a new Communist International might develop. America was determined that France and Italy where the Communist parties held substantial strongholds should be brought into its fold. With this end in view interim aid was rushed into these two countries.

In November, 1947 the Harriman Committee submitted its report according to which an account to the tune of 12 to 17 billion dollars was necessary for European recovery, that the help must be financed out of taxes, that bilateral agreements must be entered into with each aid-receiving country and that an independent agency must be set up to administer the recovery programme. A political condition added was that the recipients of the American loans should preserve democratic principles in their administrations.

There were many important sections in America that wanted the omnibus aid to be reduced. Even for allocating the first year's loans to the extent recommended by President Truman there was opposition in the legislature. But the political developments in Czechoslovakia in February, 1948, set at rest the wavering attitude of many Americans and the Congress passed the Economic Co-operation Act in March, 1948.

Most of the suggestions of the Harriman Committee were incorporated in the Act. Accordingly bilateral agreements were entered into with each of the aid-receiving countries. The original proposals insisted by America were resented by the sixteen European countries since they meant political and economic subordination to that great creditor country. After protests were made the harsh terms were to some extent released. England was fortunate to get slightly liberal terms. It took nearly three months after the passage of the Economic Co-operation Act to complete the bilateral agreements. The Anglo-American Co-operation Agreement which was the British bilateral agreement with America under Marshall aid of the 6th July, 1948 provided among other things the following:—

- (i) that E R P. dollars would be used in the third countries by England in accordance with the arrangements entered into between such third countries and the U.S.
- (ii) that the U. K. must keep a long-term balancing budget.
- (iii) that the U K. would refrain from entering into restrictive trade practices and monopolies that might affect the recovery programme.
- (iv) that the U K. would permit the U.S. the right of stock-piling.
- (v) that the U K. would be acquainting the U S from time to time the progress made in the use of E R P. dollars and
- (vi) the aid would be given for a period of five years. But the aid might be stopped if the conditions were violated.

It was later stated by Paul Hoffman, the administrator of the aid, that the 16 countries should not help Russia and its satellites. It is reported that even Communists should not be taken into their governments.

The amount sanctioned for the first year's aid was 4875 million dollars of which England alone had to receive 1263 million dollars. America would supply goods to the extent of loans granted. To some extent cash disbursements might be made. The aid is administered by an independent agency under the chairmanship of Mr. Paul Hoffman, the President of Studebaker Corporation.

But the sums actually to be lent fell short of the needs of different countries that participated in the programme. Therefore on the 9th November, 1948, the 16 countries reached decisions as to the division of aid. They would create a pool with the currencies of each of the 16 countries. Those countries which could surrender a part of American dollars from the E.R.P. grants would be given the currencies of the countries receiving such dollars. The intra-payments scheme was worked out, agreed and handed to Mr. Harriman in October, 1948. The scheme is now working accordingly.

This is in short the history of American aid to Europe. The neutral countries are interested in studying how far an application to American Government for similar aid would benefit them or involve them. The administration of the aid during the last six months has made crystal clear the intentions of America. It wants to have a stake in each country requiring help from it, with a view to fight the advance of Communism. It claims rights from such countries for producing strategic war materials. Its capitalists have found a great outlet for dumping their consumer's goods. It wants to make the political and economic policies of such countries to be made subservient to its own policies.

On the other hand what possibilities are there for expecting Russian aid? First the countries must be prepared to compromise with Communism. Stalin is sufficiently astute enough not to render aid for nothing. It is also doubtful that Russia is in a position to spare capital lavishly in view of the fact that it has to help the new republics in Europe, help the Communist parties in Manchuria, Korea and China and first of all it has to still restore the war-damaged country to its previous position. If India has to obtain capital goods from it, by what method could the purchases be financed? Our sterling balances would help us to buy capital goods from the West.

The Prime Minister of India stated in ECAFE Session at Ooty in June, 1948 that if India had to submit to American domination, it would not require any Marshall aid. Mr. Loy Henderson who has recently arrived in India as Ambassador from America stated that special Congressional Aid would be rendered only under exceptional circumstances and in his opinion no such situation existed in this country at present. In regard to the direct investment of American Capital in India Dr. Paul F. Geren, the U.S. Vice-Consul at Bombay clearly stated like Dr. Grady that India must be prepared to make American investment quite attractive to private American businessmen; that is, the latter should be assured of reasonable profits.

Thus Marshall aid involves lining up with American foreign policy which is undesirable. But if American business magnates are prepared to send their capital to India on terms that do not clash with the radical political and economic policies which the Indian Government has to set in motion in its own interest, foreign private capital may be welcomed.

# LETTERS FROM YERAVDA PRISON

Some of the letters written by Gandhiji, while in Yeravda prison, to the inmates of the Sabarmati Ashram, have been brought to light by Sri P. M. Mahrotra in an article in the Tribune under the heading "Sermons from a Temple." Here are extracts from some of the letters which reveal Gandhiji's interest even in the minute details of the Ashram. Wherever he might be the thought of the Ashram and its members was upper most in his mind and he kept up an uninterrupted correspondence with them.—[ED. I. R.]

*A letter written to a female ashramite who wanted to keep his chappals as a cherished treasure strikes a characteristic note:*

"If you want to keep the sandals with you, do so by all means. But what will you do with these sandals? If they add to your height by a couple of inches, preserve them with delight. So far as I am concerned, I shall decry this habit as idol-worship. I used to keep my father's photograph. I had hung up my father's photographs in my office, my Diwan Khana and also in my sleeping room while I was in South Africa, when I kept a watch I had a chain too. In this chain I had a locket containing my father's and brother's photographs. I have, however, now set them apart. But this does not mean that I worship them less than before. I endeavour to follow them in action. This type of devotion can be extended to innumerable gods, but if I start collecting their pictures, I shall have no room left. And if I begin to accumulate their sandals, I shall be compelled to acquire and own a new tract of land. An expert's advice to you is therefore this:

"Follow such footprints of mine as are right. This is one thousand times more precious than the wooden sandals."

*In another of his letters Mahatma Gandhi describes "love" in the following words:*

"The description of love is perfect speechlessness.....If one is vocal, one has

not full affection. Love is a matter of the heart, and as such it is not to be expressed in words."

*Here is another letter about a cat that used to visit his ward in the jail:*

"I have already written to you about the neatness of this cat. I have since been able to make further observations about her. A few weeks ago, she gave birth to two kittens. Her general conduct and demeanour appear to be extraordinary. Seldom are those three seen separate from one another; when the young ones want to be fed, the mother suckles them. Both the offspring are suckled together. This scene is enchanting. The mother does not feel ashamed at this in the least. This cat is so well-behaved that she does not do everything and anything thoughtlessly or indiscriminately. No sooner were the kittens able to run about, the mother trained them in the rules of answering call of nature. She would go to a lonely place and after selecting a piece of ground, she would dig a small pit, would seat the kittens on the pit and after they had eased themselves, she would cover the pit gently. Now-a-days these kittens answer the call of nature in the manner taught to them by their mother. They are brother and sister.

Four days ago one of these two selected a soft piece of ground and wanted to make a pit there. But the surface proved to be

a hard one. The mother came up for help and both prepared a pit of the required depth. After easing themselves they covered the pit and ran away.

This cat is an ideal instructress; she teaches by example and they begin to do likewise. These kittens jump, run about, climb trees, get down cautiously, eat, drink, and catch their prey, and keep their bodies clean by licking them over. All the habits of the mother have been imbibed by the children. Her love for them resembles that of human beings. She sleeps with her offspring by her side, stretches her legs and suckles them freely, if she catches a prey, she brings it to her children. Vallabhbhai gives them milk daily. All the three drink milk together. Sometimes she gets aside and lets them drink it. She sometimes wrestles with them affectionately."

*And here is yet another in which Gandhiji gives a cure for asthma:*

"The asthma of an 80-year-old man was cured in the following manner. He was prohibited to take salt. Giving of 'roti' (ordinary chappatti) was discontinued. Only well-cooked rice, milk and jam of orange peels were given to him as his meals. He was advised to take bath in the open in broad-day light. He was asked to walk a little everyday. Thus within a month the old man's asthma disappeared. In other words he was blessed with a new life.

I have carried on my experiments regarding giving up salt with a large number of persons. There is no loss or deterioration of any kind whatsoever if one gives up salt. What will be the result of a person restraining from taking salt for a number of years, can't be said. But here the question does not arise at all."

## ECONOMIC PLANNING IN INDIA

By PROF. K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI, M.A.

THE halt which Soviet Russia imposed on Hitler's apparently irresistible march to world dominion furnished indisputable proof of the success of large scale economic planning and reconstruction in raising the potential of a nation to a very high degree in a relatively short period. In war-ravaged countries the necessity for the rehabilitation of industry and economy in general has directed attention to planned reconstruction with a view to ensuring greater speed and efficiency in the task and a better location of industrial plants from the standpoint of security as well as scientific theory. Though India

has suffered little from the direct ravages of actual fighting on her soil, her economy has suffered injury in many ways by the faults of omission and commission for which the British Indian Government made themselves responsible. Her industrial development was deliberately retarded and new industries which countries like Australia developed under the stimulus of war were not allowed to come up here owing to fear of their competition with British industry at the return of peace. The proposals formulated by the Grady Mission for increasing the war effort of India did not see the light of day. There was grave distortion and

misdirection of industry and the most wasteful exploitation of natural resources under the plea of war effort. Normal replacements and improvements in the technical organization of her industry were shamefully neglected, and nothing was done to meet the crisis in her food supply that had arisen out of the Japanese occupation of Burma, millions being allowed to die from sheer starvation. The result is that in spite of her vast resources in men and material, India is still in a state of economic stagnation and arrested industrial development, and the Britisher's parting gift of Pakistan has not only complicated the task of planning the future, but has brought into existence a favoured competitor for the grudging aid in capital goods, technique and personnel that we may be able to get from the countries that are in a position to help.

Economically India has much leeway to make up. Unlike advanced countries like England where the problem is one of rapid expansion of production with a view to regaining and maintaining the high pre-war standard of living for their people, India is up against problems of a very different character, more difficult as they are more urgent. They are problems not so much of reconstruction as of construction *ab initio*, not of repair and readjustment so much as of starting from the scratch, of making up for the planned neglect of several decades. The attraction of planning is all the greater to the Indian mind as it suggests the idea of orderly, rapid, and consciously directed progress to clearly defined objectives. To what better purpose can the new freedom be put than to

build a better India to live in the shortest possible time? The regulation by deliberate policy of many things formerly left to the laws of supply and demand, to wait less on the operation of impersonal economic factors and currents, and more and more to organise and direct the flow of economic resources along proper channels, to maximise social well-being, raise the standard of life of the bulk of the nation and abridge the yawning gap between riches and poverty—these are naturally felt to be among the first duties of the State that has just found itself. The comprehensive and many sided intervention of the State in the economic life of society to attain these ends has ceased to be, if it ever was, matter of academic debate from the standpoint of economic or individual liberty. It is seen that a large scale collective effort is needed and it is assumed that such collective effort would need to be backed up by the State. Quantitative programmes have generally been regarded in other countries as an element in planning, and some Indian plans, conspicuously the 'Bombay plan' of which we have ceased to hear much, sought to fix such targets for India though with little exact knowledge of resources and no details of the actual *modus operandi*; government, however, have wisely restrained in their statements of policy from defining their objective as anything more definite than more production.

Indeed while it is plain as a pikestaff that we must produce or perish, there are too many uncertain factors to permit of greater definition in our plans just now. Labour is ignorant and ill-organised,

Early misled into the belief that a national government had only come into existence for it to enter a new heaven, it is falling a prey to the machinations of 'Communists' avowed and other, is unable to appreciate the efforts of government to better their condition progressively, and by its intransigence, causes a falling off of production and imperils the successful working even of industries already nationalised. The entrepreneurs, not a very large class in India, who have hardly had time to look round after the end of the war, are staggered by the attitude of labour, the requirements of social legislation, and the uncertainty of government's industrial policy. Our educational system is hardly adapted to maintain a regular supply of the leadership and the technical skills needed all round, and time is required for a comprehensive remodelling of the system to be put through and for it to bear fruit. Till then we must depend to a considerable extent on their supply from abroad, always and necessarily an uncertain factor. Full of good intentions and eager to implement them quickly, government are handicapped by a woeful lack of experienced and skilled administrators, and the difficult tasks that face them have been rendered doubly so by the political and military preoccupations connected with the framing of the new constitution, the protection of Kashmir, and the revision of the relations of the Union with the 'Indian States'; and their resources, financial and administrative, are greatly strained by the necessity of settling the millions of 'refugees' from Pakistan. The admitted failure of controls in the essential commodities of good-grains and

cloth is a portent which reveals the moral shortcomings alike of the administrative personnel and of the public. Great skill and greater courage would be needed in the Central Government to overcome all these obstacles and prepare the way for planning a big step forward in economic well-being with a reasonable chance of success.

An economic plan for India considered by itself raises not a few complex issues. Many detailed surveys, economic, geological and others, will have to be put through to build up the body of factual knowledge which must be the foundation of any intelligent plan. Again the plan will have to proceed on the basis of compact economically homogeneous regions though subject to proper control from a Central Planning Commission, and the cutting up of India into two nations with three loci has upset all the cherished ideas on the natural economic regions of India, and necessitates a radical revision of all notions regarding regions, their economic resources, and the best lines of their development. An intelligent and sustained co-operation between the two States might help both to overcome the economic consequences of the partition, but neither the probability nor the measure of such co-operation is apparent now, nor does seem likely to be for sometime.\* Then there are large questions of policy which India, still at the threshold of mechanical industrialization, will have to settle before maturing any definite plans of economic betterment. The place of agriculture in the new economy, and the need for self-sufficiency or otherwise in food-supply,

\*Indo-Pakistan relations are now said to be improving since the time of the Kashmir truce. [Ed. I. R.]

the place of handicrafts and cottage industries in the new order and their relation to large scale industry, the sector of private enterprise and its relation to the state sector and the mode of administration of nationalised industry—whether directly by government departments or through statutory corporations of a business character, are only some of the many issues that need to be thought out clearly in an imaginative way, though it is by no means necessary that all action should wait for the final and definitive settlement of such issues.

The case for the study of planning in India from various points of view is thus strong, and Dr R. Balakrishna, Professor of Economics in the University of Madras, deserves to be congratulated on his recent monograph on *Regional Planning in India*.\* The book is divided into nine chapters and covers almost every essential aspect of planning, except finance which perhaps does not really fall within the scope of the study. The opening chapter on the theory of Industrial Location is a good account of the attempts of some Western economists to evolve a theory on a subject where the trained instinct of an able businessman counts for much more than any considerations of abstract theory, and the author admits more than once that the concepts of 'location factor' and 'coefficient of localization' evolved by Western theory have little relevance in the Indian context. In fact the method of the author may strike the average reader as somewhat too academic and detached; the argument is often too nicely balanced, generally proceeds at a languid pace and seems at times to come quite to a halt. The note at the end on the economic conse-

quences of the partition of India is an instance of the pedantic manner that pervades the book. A brisker and less pedestrian approach to the many live issues dealt with by the author would have been more appropriate to his theme. The author is a whole-hogger with regard to planning and holds that 'planning implies not state intervention but full state control'. He strikes one as giving too little attention to the difficulties and dangers ahead of which he evinces a dim awareness in casual remarks such as that 'loss due to the adoption of a policy could be borne out of general revenues', that 'bureaucratic methods may be much worse than private monopolies in their effects on the well-being of a nation' or 'that extreme planning may have a tendency to undertake the basis of liberal democracy and create an atmosphere favourable for the development of a dictatorship'. Planning in India according to the author, should, while subserving the national interest as a whole, transcend narrow provincial limits and concern itself with coherent economic regions. Provinces like Bengal and Madras which have often complained with justice that their interests have been sacrificed to those of industrially advanced province like Bombay may find in regional planning a salutary corrective to the state of affairs that has prevailed hitherto. The Damodar Valley Authority modelled on the Tennessee Valley Authority provides an example of the machinery which would work a regional plan. Prof. Balakrishna seems to take too little account of the part which villages can play in industrial development if on the lines followed in Switzerland and elsewhere we linked up handicrafts and cottage industries with the industrial plan. He seems to underrate also the scope for controlled private capitalists' enterprise in the new set up, but in this view government seem to agree with him. Dr. Balakrishna's book is a valuable and well studied contribution to the literature on planning in India and contains a large volume of statistical and historical information of great value to students of the Indian economy and its future.

\* *REGIONAL PLANNING IN INDIA* By Dr. R. Balakrishna. The Bangalore Press, Bangalore.

# COMMUNISM AND THE POST-WAR WORLD

BY MR. PULLELA VENKATA RAO.

WHILE disruption of social, economic and political conditions of belligerent (and, to no trivial extent, of even non-belligerent) countries is now-a-days a natural consequence of all large-scale wars, the one which we have survived, having, as it did, engulfed a major part of the international world and protracted, as it had been, during nearly six years, is followed by even greater disruption and has released, in its wake stupendous forces of varied character, the extent and intensity of which were perhaps little comprehended in the beginning. It may be that British selfishness aiming at perpetuation of imperialist hegemony on the one side and Nazi ambition to supplant it on the other constituted each for itself an obsession and precluded insight into the mediate future,—that, in between them, Communism might make inroads into the social, economic and political life of the international world.

For, consider how, in World War II, tens of thousands of men were killed and hundreds of thousands of men were wounded and how, despite such holocaust of innocent life and the ultimate defeat of the Axis Powers, instead, as was held out and hoped for, of millennium being ushered in, the international world has nevertheless become all the more economically bankrupt, morally depraved, socially restless and politically turbulent.

It may be surmised that both Great Britain and America fought Germany and her Allies to Russian victory,—not only because, as a result of the war, Poland, Austria, Hungary, the Baltic States, Balkan States etc., have either become part and parcel of Soviet Russia or, if separate entities,

have become thoroughly Communist, but also because, in China and in South East Asia, the Octopus of Communism is slowly spreading its tentacles. Of course, China becoming 'red' is now a foregone conclusion; and, then, gradually, Burma, Indonesia and Malaya may follow suit.

But, what has made the spread of Communism thus possible? It may be remembered that production, both industrial and agricultural, suffered in the belligerent countries during the whole tenure of the War. As modern economy is indivisible, this 'short-supply' in the warring countries has had its repercussions the world over; and, to-day, there is almost nothing which is not in 'short supply'. Many countries are deficient even in respect of such a prerequisite as Food. Further, many merchant vessels were torpedoed in the war and, therefore, movement for want of adequate shipping space of what few articles are inadequately available has become tardy. This scarcity of most of the essential articles has contributed to a sharp rise in their prices and, thanks to the short-sighted policy of some of the Governments, the fortunate few who are in a position to purchase them and hoard them for future requirements are having a lion's share of what little of such articles is made available, while the poor and the lower middle classes are either obliged to buy them at prohibitive prices or often go without them.

The major post-War problem, therefore, is primarily economic; Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru in fact hit the nail on the head, when, in August last, speaking to a

Correspondent, he said that "economic ills provide a most fertile field for Communism" For, this protracted International War has had serious economic repercussions the world over, that even a trans-continental Marshall Plan takes years to remedy the situation.

This economic malady has engendered social unrest and consequent political turmoil. Even a country like Great Britain has turned a trifle left-ward and has programmed to nationalise key industries. Then, America, herself, in electing Mr. H. Truman in preference to the Republican nominee, has shown a slight inclination to the left. In a country like Burma, land is being hurriedly nationalised. In India, we have accorded greater concession than ever to Industrial Labour, have gone more than half way in the matter of abolition of Zamindaris and are seriously contemplating to bring in Agrarian Reform. Of course, till now, Leftist leaning is confined to Industrial Labour here and there in this country; our Governments, provincial and dominion, therefore, leave no stone unturned to win the sympathies of Agriculturists and Agricultural Labourers who constitute the bulk of the population.

Both Britain and America have, however, realized their 'folly,' namely, that, after all, they fought Germany and her confederates to Russian victory. Therefore it was perhaps that Britain has gracefully walked out of India, Burma and Ceylon and disburdened herself of Palestine, presumably in an all-out attempt to command herself to their support. And America has come forward with the Marshall Plan and the

proposed North Atlantic Pact. All this is a counterblast to aggressive Russian Imperialism. But, this, perhaps, was the mission of Herr Hess. If it was, he vainly tried to enlist British support against the Comintern. But, though he failed in his mission to build up a vast anti-Comintern Front, it must be said that it was he who wrote the Foreword to the North Atlantic Pact.

But, America has already suffered a major defeat in China; America's 'Europe-complex' perhaps is the cause of her defeat in China. Korea may yield to Communism in the next few months.

For, Russian Communism, after Lenin (and more pronouncedly during recent years) has become mobocratic Fascist Imperialism; it has become imperialism in excelsis; it has the thoroughness, the aggressiveness, in fact the whole technique, the dictatorship, the ruthlessness, etc., of Fascism; it has its own counterpart of Imperialist bureaucracy; only in the place of the few Capitalists, Financiers, Industrialists, etc., you have however stolid mobocracy headed by haughty, irresponsible and irremovable 'key men' whose duty it is to satellite the all-powerful Central Figure,—the Dictator. But, Communism may be good or bad to you and to me; still, it appears inevitable. At least, this much is certain,—that, should another war break out now, and should Russia come out victorious, then, the whole world will have to live in the shadow of Russia. Should Russia, however, be defeated, we may then have International Socialism.

# INDIA'S NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Writing not as Prime Minister but as an author and as a person intensely interested in the question of language, Pandit Nehru, in a press article, draws attention to the wider cultural aspects of this question. As one who is sensitive to "the beauty of a language, the music of its phrases and the magic and power that lies in words" Pandit Nehru pleads for a language which is strong and vigorous—"for so are the people who use it". On the issue of the all-India language he sums up his views thus: It must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages and must be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. In the following article he explains his preference for Hindustani. [ED. I.R.]

A language, which is confined in a strait jacket, with no doors and windows open for progressive change, may be both precise and graceful, but is apt to lose touch with a changing environment and the mass of the people. This inevitably leads to a loss of vigour and a growth of a certain artificiality. At any time, this would not be good, but in the present dynamic age, with almost everything changing round about us, a strait jacket will deaden a language. The courtly languages of previous ages had much to commend them. But they are totally unsuited to a democratic age, where we aim at mass education. A language, therefore, must fulfil two functions; it must base itself on its ancient roots and at the same time, vary and expand with growing needs and be essentially the language of the mass of people and not of a select coterie. This is all the more necessary in this age of science and technology and world communication. In so far as possible, that language should have common or similar words with other languages in regard to scientific or technical terms. It must, therefore, be a receptive language, accepting every word from outside that fits into its general structure. Sometimes that word may be slightly varied to suit the genius of the language. . . .

If I was asked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest

heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long will the basic genius of India continue. Apart from its being a treasure of the past, it is, to an astonishing degree, for so ancient a language, a living tradition, I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has been almost forgotten. It is surprising that while we talk so much of language in terms of an extreme nationalism, only lip homage is paid to it or it is exploited for political ends. Very little is done to serve it as a language should be served. Whether in Sanskrit or in the modern Indian languages, constructive work is rare. We often follow a dog-in-the-manger policy of disliking any other growth and at the same time not doing anything ourselves. A language will grow ultimately because of its inherent worth and not because of statutes or resolutions. Therefore the true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth.

However great Sanskrit may be, and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living

language. But it must be, as it has been, the base, and inner substance of most of our languages. That is inevitable. But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.

#### ROLE OF PERSIAN

Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Pathlevi are nearer to one another than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit. So, a certain overlapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race. In any event, a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise, to try to undo this work of history. From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of the cultural heritage which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view.

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages. It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned

men. It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness. Inevitably its base and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit, but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages. In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use. In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words, so far as possible we should not detract from the world language that is growing up.

#### BASIC VOCABULARY

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words, say 3,000 or so, which might be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally. These may often include alternative words for the same ideas, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which everyone, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know.

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above. I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me.

If these two lists are prepared, the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vast reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers. Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above.

# A NEW LABOUR. POLICY.

.. BY MR KRISHNA SAHAI SRIVASTAVA, M.Com

ONE of the achievements of the Indian National Government is its Labour Policy. Till lately, Labour problems in India were given a secondary importance by the British Government.

Labour problems in Asiatic countries never bore any semblance with those in either Great Britain or America. Even the I.L.O. has not always been impartial and there is no denying the fact that its decisions have from time to time, been largely influenced by European and American interests. The holding of the Asiatic Session of the I.L.O. last year at New Delhi was a landmark in its history.

The venue of this conference was most appropriate because of the significance of New Delhi as the capital of a new nation, having vast resources of labour and capital. This conference, therefore, struck a note of warning by emphasising the peculiar aspects of labour problems in the East. The success of this conference was largely due to the untiring efforts of Hon. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour, Government of India. This conference was a bold step.

The Government of India through their delegates declared that Labour problems in India, China, Burma and Indonesia are different from those of European and American countries. Agricultural labour which contributes materially to the general productive activity, lives in villages where the light of civilisation is yet dim and sparse. It is backward, and steeped in superstition and abject misery. It has no organisation worth the name, and its control on the government machinery is insignificant. The govern-

ment has recognised these hard facts and taken up the challenge.

It has, for the first time, recognised that the existence of a feudal agency has always been instrumental in keeping the Indian labourer tied down to the position of a serf. The diversity of tenancy laws and practices have worked to prolong the period of his suffering and privation. The provincial governments like those of the U.P. and Bihar have pledged themselves to the abolition of landlordism and their plans of universal education are bound to bring about the natural death of an age-long institution, namely forced labour of 'Begar.'

Our government is conscious of the demoralising influence of unemployment among the workers. Among agricultural labourers, the unemployment is generally of a seasonal nature. When the crops are sown, the agriculturist has very little to do till the harvesting season. During this part of the year he requires some engagement which helps him in supplementing his income without separating him from his fields over which he has to maintain a close watch. The provincial governments have, in collaboration with the Central Government, launched various schemes of the organization of industries on regional and co-operative basis. This work is now being handled by the Development Departments of the various governments.

Their plans aim at giving a centrifugal attention to the 'kisan'. He is a capitalist, a labourer and enterpriser. Above all he is a human being. He must be given all the dignity of a man. This consideration

has made the outlook of the Indian Government fundamentally more humane.

The Ministry of Labour, Government of India, has organised a net work of 53 Employment Exchanges throughout the country. Previously these served as recruiting centres but now they act as the link between the employers and the employees of almost all types. They aim at organising the labour

The principle of labour partnership has been recognised and on this basis, labour has been given recognition to its right of self-assertion. The Government of India have accepted the principle of a Minimum Living Wage. This is not easy to achieve. It gives rise to a large number of problems resulting from the relativity of different industries and their location. But its recognition in itself is an event of importance and is likely to instil greater confidence among the workers.

In this direction, the setting up of a Statutory Wage Board with representatives of workers, employers and the government, is the most urgent need of the hour. This board should have a number of sub-committees working under it for studying and prescribing wage standards for different industries. They should also undertake the study of the fluctuations in the cost of living and suggest measures for bringing about the desired adjustment. Indian statistics suffer from inaccuracy and, therefore, organisation of an Economic Intelligence Service is also an obvious necessity.

Social Insurance envisaging a comprehensive scheme of relief from want and sickness is an integral part of the new Labour Policy. The growth and distribution of essential foodstuffs with due regard to standards of

dietary and nutrition, decent housing, free education and medical service, and a complete guarantee of maintenance during the period of a physical disability are the important aspects of the new economic order.

The worker has been assured of a fair deal in case of a conflict with Capital and for this purpose, workers' right to make out a case for his demands and its close examination by impartial and expert authorities is now an acknowledged principle.

The government has recognised its responsibility towards maintaining industrial peace by actively working for promoting cordial relationship between the workers and the industrialists. It has recommended to the provincial governments to appoint Labour Conciliation Officers, and Labour Welfare Officers at important industrial centres. The provision of Arbitration has satisfied a long-felt need and adjudication in disputes is bound to prove immensely helpful.

The most important step taken by the Central Government is the inauguration of a number of tripartite conferences for bringing the matters on a common table at which representatives of all the three interests namely state, capital and labour—sit and bring forth acceptable solutions. In addition, the Central Government convenes periodical conferences of the Labour Ministers and Industries Ministers of the different provinces and States for discussing politics of common interest.

Above all the government has warned Labour against taking sides in politics and advised it to evolve a policy of its own, based on negation of narrow sectarianism or partisanship.

In fact there could be no better advice, and in view of the Production Crisis facing our country, it is essential that Indian labour should make a generous response to these friendly gestures of the National Government.

# V. O. C. AND HIS PIONEER WORK

In another page we draw attention to H. E. the Governor-General's inauguration of the new steamship service from Tuticorin to Colombo by launching S. S. *Chidambaram* at the old port reminiscent of V. O. Chidambaram Pillai's pioneer enterprise. The following is a brief account of V. O. C.'s career and his frustrated efforts to revive the ancient maritime glory of India.—[ED. I. R.]

**V.** O. Chidambaram Pillai or "V. O. C." as he is affectionately referred to by the people of Tamilnad, was born in 1872 in a village called Ottappidaram in the Tirunelveli district of South India. After a brilliant scholastic career in the St. Xavier's School, Tuticorin, he took to law and set up practice as a pleader in 1900.

A staunch nationalist by conviction he was constantly obsessed by the feeling that the Tamils, who had been masters of the sea from the days of the Pandyas and Cholas, were deprived of their shipping trade by the British conquerors. The upheaval that followed the partition of Bengal gave him the opportunity to enter the battle for freedom and he started a "second front" in Tamilnad by kindling the spirit of the masses, who readily rallied round his banner.

Chidambaram Pillai's first direct attack was aimed at the merchant community of Britain, which, in his opinion, formed the root of British imperialism. In the year 1906, he organised at Tuticorin the "Swadeshi Shipping Company" to capture the shipping trade between India and Ceylon, which until then was solely in the hands of the British India Steam Navigation Company. Having started the company with the financial help of the local merchants he was able to gain the support of businessmen all over the country. He acquired two ships the S. S. *Las* and

the S S *Galita* and by the force of his convincing arguments enlisted the sympathy of both the passengers and the shipping community.

The British Company realised that things were heading towards a crisis and tried to win over the customers by reducing the freight and advertising free passage. It is believed that it even went to the extent of offering Chidambaram Pillai himself a huge sum to corrupt him.

The British authorities in India who feared that the Swadeshi Shipping Company was the first step towards India's economic freedom were anxious to see Chidambaram Pillai behind the bars. His political activities gave them an opportunity to achieve their object. Chidambaram Pillai, who believed in the extremist section of the Congress headed by Lokamanya Tilak adopted him as his political guru and Tilak, in his turn, chose him as his only representative in Tamilnad. By 1908 he had started in Tirunelveli the Desabhiman Sangam to preach the gospel of freedom among the people. This sangam celebrated, in contravention of the District Magistrate's order, the release of Bipin Chandra Pal, one of the then foremost leaders of the Congress, on the 9th of March 1908. The District Collector sent for Chidambaram Pillai and on his refusing to leave the district and furnish security binding him for non-participation in political activities, arrested him on the spot. On trial for treason,

the Sessions Judge sentenced him to transportation for life. The sentence, which was disapproved even by Lord Morley, the then Secretary of State for India, was ultimately reduced by the Privy Council to six years' rigorous imprisonment.

After six years of prison life Chidambaram Pillai came out only to taste the bitter fruits of adversity. The shipping company, his dream and pride, had crashed almost immediately after his incarceration and the shareholders could no longer look upon him as their hero. With an almost completely ruined health he had once again to resort to

his legal practice to make both ends meet. Even in that stage he would not keep aloof from public service. However, he could not see eye to eye with the Congress which by then had changed its policy and was concentrating on non-co-operation. He had, therefore to be satisfied with occasional participation in its activities. But he continued to contribute in his own way to the struggle for India's freedom until his death in 1936.

Even in his death bed, Chidambaram Pillai is said to have been deeply pained to think that he had to die without seeing India independent.

## INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

BY PROF. B. BISSOON DOYAL, M.A.

(O)

It will sound queer to the people of India that a far-away island lost in the Indian Ocean should be mourning for the loss of Mr. Natesan. Mauritius, for such is its name, owes much to the veteran journalist who passed away in January.

*The Indian Review*, *The Modern Review* and *The Hindusthan Review* whose editor, Dr. Sacchidananda Sinha, is—fortunately for us—still living, are the three periodicals from which two generations of Mauritius Indians have had their first lessons in politics.

Only a decade ago Indians here did not exist politically. Thus those who had contributed most to make the country prosperous, could only be hewers of wood and drawers of water. A century passed uneventfully so far as Indians were concerned. Indian politics held more interest for them than local politics. They were suddenly stirred up by the activities

of a new movement that has succeeded in getting the old Constitution of the land replaced by a liberal one with the result that the Legislative Council has as many as twelve Indian members to-day. Well-documented articles about Mauritius appeared of late in *The Modern Review* and *Free India*. They all tend to show that the Indian element of the Mauritian population cannot now be criminally neglected.

Two decades ago educated Indians could be seen poring over *The Modern Review* that was publishing Dr. Sunderland's book *INDIA IN BONDAGE*. *The Indian Review* was not lagging behind. Mahatma Gandhi's *STORY OF MY EXPERIMENTS WITH TRUTH*, a more important work than Sunderland's, appeared in its pages. The friends that India has in France had both the works translated into their mother tongue. We of Mauritius who are taught to talk French

from our childhood, had the singular fortune of reading the two books in English and in French.

But Mr. Natesan did something more. He had the happy idea of publishing cheap editions of Indian Classics, Dr. Annie Besant's *GITA*, the biographies of eminent Indians and Orientalists, the speeches and writings of Indian leaders, saints and reformers acquainted Mauritius Indians with the great culture of India and the political movement that reached its consummation when independence was obtained on the 15th August, 1947. Could a thinker of Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's calibre be brought within the reach of the man in the street if Natesan & Co. did not bring out *THE HEART OF HINDUSTHAN* and *FREEDOM AND CULTURE*, books that never fail to come as an invigorating tonic? But for Natesan's books most of our lads would have lost the last shred of interest in Indian religion and culture. Part of *The Indian Review* is one long catalogue of the highly interesting publications. It does one great pleasure to turn over the pages of the catalogue and remember the names of old companions. The new additions leave nothing to be desired.

We can hardly restrain a smile when we think of the naivete of our elders who, when they got wind of the coming of policemen in the vicinity, had the whole lot of books from Natesan buried lest they might be found in possession of them and deported! What a long stride we have

made since those good old days! To-day the Indo-Mauritian community has imbibed the spirit of Mahatma and launches *Satyagraha* to remedy the evils with which the country is infested. And the voice of Indo-Mauritians has not been crying in the wilderness. Non-Indians are following in their footsteps. The Indians of Mauritius love Mr. Natesan for this reason too that he helped Mahatma Gandhi who had once paid them a short visit. The pages of *The Indian Review* containing news about Indians abroad endeared him to all Indians overseas alike.

In the past with the exception of traders and immigrants nobody in Mauritius would think of going out to India. When the sound of the word *India* fell on the tympanum of our ears it meant almost nothing to us. The advent of the Arya Samaj coupled with the arrival of books on that great religious movement, especially the four anna biography of Swami Dayananda Saraswati published by Natesan & Co., changed the outlook of many a youth. Many began to dream of spending a few years in the land of their ancestors. So the cheap publications indirectly created the new taste for travel. And that was not a minor event. I personally know of two or three cases of young men going out to India for higher studies after getting inspired by the perusal of books published by Natesan & Co. I wish Mr. Natesan could have known that he had unconsciously served Indo-Mauritians in many ways.

# INDIAN SCIENCE CONGRESS

(o)

THE thirty-sixth session of Indian Science Congress was inaugurated at Allahabad on January 3 by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

## MRS SAROJINI NAIDU'S ADDRESS

Requesting Pandit Nehru to inaugurate the Congress, H. E Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, welcomed the delegates and specially the foreign delegates, who had come to attend the session. She said that .

they were all men of science and who had dedicated themselves to the cause of salvation of humanity from destruction. To-day the world was in such a condition when men lived in fear of one another. Fear brought destruction, fear brought hatred and created nightmares and fear was the ultimate destroyer of the world. But if men of science resolved for the good of humanity how marvellous the world would be!

She was confident that the scientists who had gathered were a brilliant galaxy of men and they would serve the right cause. To talk of freedom was mockery and sinister if it was not realised that every human being had a right to salvation, said Mrs. Naidu Referring to Pandit Nehru, Mrs. Naidu said

that they found in him a man who had sacrificed his all for the national freedom and also for the cause of international co-operation. He had become their inspiration and guide.

## PANDIT NEHRU'S WELCOME

Speaking *ex tempore*, the Prime Minister said he had come on behalf of the Government of India to welcome the scientists who had gathered there. He appealed to the scientists all over the world to seriously consider as to how science could help the world in the final analysis of things.

Pandit Nehru paid a handsome tribute to Sir C. V. Raman on his sixtieth birthday, by saying that he had not only done

distinguished service to science but 'for the whole world. Pandit Nehru said :

I think, with the advancement of science the balance of human mind has not advanced. We still live in different grooves and think with a narrow outlook. The result is that the poise of the world is disturbed, putting it in a bad way. I feel it is the duty of the scientists to see that along with advancement of science this balance or poise of mind also advances. I do not ask you to go back, for going back means fading away. There should certainly be an attempt to preserve everything we have got and to add to it, but there should also be a side by side attempt to balance it. This balancing should be done in all spheres, economic, political and even in the spirit of mankind.

The conflict of the spirit which has been generated due to this disturbance of the balance affects all and as scientists it becomes your duty to ponder over it and solve it and bring back the lost balance.

Referring to the present day conflict and tension, both political and economic Pandit Nehru said

that the scientists should try to understand the complicated human phenomenon. They should think about this matter and try to help solve those problems by applying not only proper knowledge but looking at them from a historical and human perspective and also by developing a philosopher's outlook. A scientist minus philosophy was just a scientist and nothing more.

Concluding, Pandit Nehru said that the scientists must try to understand the problems of human life and apply science to their solution.

## DR. KRISHNAN'S PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

Dr. K. S. Krishnan, President of the Congress, addressing the delegates announced that the Government of India were setting up an Atomic Commission under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He said :

The development of atomic energy had become a great topical interest and it was fitting that in the research on this energy, India would not lag behind other countries.

The President also announced that the Government of India were shortly going to establish an Institute of Scientific Research.

and wanted Sir G. V. Raman's services for the Institute. He felt happy at the offer and hoped that under Sir C. V. Raman, the Institute will be of real utility and importance to the country.

The President then introduced the foreign scientists, Prof. Chapman, Prof. Burlingam, Prof. Ziola and Prof. Govind Beharilal who were attending the conference, to the delegates. A number of messages wishing success to the session were received on the occasion.

#### STUDY OF HISTORY OF SCIENCES

The need of forming a National Society in India for the promotion of studies in the History of Sciences in this part of the world was exclaimed by Mr. Alexander Woolsky of UNESCO at a meeting of some delegates to the Science Congress.

Mr Woolsky, who had come to the Science Congress from Paris, explained the role which the UNESCO would play in his scheme of National Committee or Society in India. He said that

the role of the UNESCO would be an indirect or passive one. As the UNESCO had only a sort of informal connection with the International Union of the History of Science, which came into existence two years back and had its headquarters at Paris.

Mr. Woolsky pointed out that a society formed for the purpose of study of history of sciences in this part of the world would find it easier to ask for financial support from the International Union as he was confident it would be forthcoming.

After a short discussion a Committee with Prof. A. C. Bannerjee as Convener and with powers to co-opt to formulate a scheme in this connection.

#### MANUFACTURE OF CHEMICALS

Dr. J. C. Ghosh, addressing a scientists' gathering on the subject of "Impact of

science on industry" in the Senate Hall of the Allahabad University, disclosed that other industrial programmes of the Government aimed at making the country self-sufficient in the matter of chemicals included the manufacture of synthetic ammonia and penicillin.

Dr. Ghosh, in the course of his address, complained of "cold and callous attitude" of the Government towards pure and applied science, which he said, would lead to calamity. He felt that red-tapism of the permanent services should go.

The Congress, as usual, divided itself into various sections, each section presided over by a Scientist of distinction. Important papers were presented at their gatherings besides discussions on scientific topics.

The following are the various sections with their respective Presidents :

Agriculture Section	Dr. R. S. Vasudeva
Physics "	Prof. R. S. Krishnan
Statistics "	Dr. U. S. Nair
Chemistry "	Dr. P. B. Ganguly
Geology and Geography	Dr. C. Mahadevan
Medical and Veterinary	Dr. M. B. Soparkar
Zoology & Entomology	Dr. M. L. Roonwal
Botany "	Mr. M. S. Randhawa
Psychology "	Principal T. K. N. Menon
Physiology "	Dr. B. B. Sarkar
Anthropology "	Nirmal K. Bose
Engineering "	Prof. M. Sen Gupta
Mathematics "	Dr. S. Chowla

Dr. R. S. Krishnan, Head of the Department of Physics, Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, sought to discuss and settle in his Presidential address to the physics section the question of the vibrations in crystals which manifest themselves in the Ram spectrum "waves".

Dealing with the luminescence of crystals in the course of a popular lecture delivered to an audience of scientists, Sir C. V. Raman said that when Mahatma

Gandhi marched down to Dandi, little did he know that he was making one of the most elementary experiments in physical chemistry.

Common salt, the speaker said, consists of atoms of sodium and chlorine bound together in the crystal by electrical forces. In the crystalline state it offers one of the most important problems of physics.

Proceeding Dr. Raman said that his presence recently at Harvard in America

helped him to study the problem from diverse points of view.

The learned speaker observed that during the last thirty years the Indian School of Crystal Physics, whose cornerstone was laid down by Sir K. S. Krishnan, the President of this session of the Science Congress, has continued this study to a most conclusive end. Prof. K. S. Krishnan also did a lot of work at Bangalore towards realising the true state of crystalline state.

## THE POETRY OF SAROJINI NAIDU\*

BY

DR AMARANATHA JHA

I was at the Lucknow Congress of 1916 that I first heard Mrs. Naidu speak. Then she was invited by us to visit the Muir Central College, and on January 20, 1917, she gave readings from her poetry. She said she was but a wandering singer. But, she continued, a poet is not only a dreamer of dreams; his heart is the mirror of the world's emotion; his songs of gladness are echoes of the world's laughter; his songs of sorrow reflect the tears of humanity. The spell that she wove then has continued to gain in potency. In February 1918, I wrote an appreciation of two collections of her poems. Friendship across the span of more than thirty years will not permit a truly objective appraisal of her literary work; but nothing is written here that, I trust, is a conscious departure from critical rectitude.

Mrs. Naidu has published three volumes of poems, 'The Golden threshold', 'Bird of time', and 'The Broken Wing'. These have been collected together in one volume,

entitled 'The Sceptred Flute' first published in America by Dodd, Mead and Co Inc. She was an obscure young girl when her first book of poems came out in 1905; but it was received with enthusiasm in England. Among the comments then published occur these words of praise: 'This little volume should silence for ever the scoffer who declares that women cannot write poetry'; 'Her poetry seems to sing itself as if her swift thoughts and strong emotions sprang into lyrics of themselves'; 'Of undeniable beauty and distinction'; 'The book is one not merely of accomplished, but beautiful verse, it is the expression of a temperament'. 'The Bird of Time' appeared in 1912, with an introduction by Edmund Gosse. Edward Thomas said at the time that 'her poems achieve an uncommon outward gorgeousness and inward glory'. 'She scatters memorable phrases over a page

\* The Leader of Allahabad published this appreciation of Sarojini in connection with her seventieth birthday which fell on February 13.

like stars, and yet knows how to reserve beauty for the close of a poem', said another critic. 'The Broken Wing' came out in 1917—the last of her books so far. I have in my possession a copy of this book which came from the Library of Edmund Gosse. Pasted in it is a letter dated 21st December, 1916, from Wm. Heinemann (the publisher) to Gosse, in course of which he says: 'Herewith another of your God-children. I had hoped to get the book out to Sarojini before Christmas, but it has been quite impossible. She ought to be pleased with it when she sees it'. And then public life, social work and politics lured her away from the pleasures which only poets know. To the sombre and serious atmosphere of politics she brings a breath of sanity, a ray of humour, a ripple of laughter. From the platform she sound soul animating strains—alas! too many. The loss to literature has been great. If only Mrs. Naidu had not exerted all her energy in the Assembly and the Council-hall; if only a public gathering had not attracted her with a sure fascination; if only she had not ruled the universal monarchy of wit and been content only to utter words nimble and full of subtle flame; if, in short, she had remained faithful to poetry, how many poems would have been written, poems inspired by tragic happenings in the country, or by personal loss or grief, bedecked with phrases of gemlike beauty. Alas, for the wide demesne of 'might-have-been'!

Mrs. Naidu wrote, in her early years, some charming poems of nature, and specially of the spring-time. There are at least thirteen lyrics on the Spring, and

many in which she describes the sights, and sounds, and smell of nature. There are descriptions of Indian life poems dealing with folk-lore and mythology and history. Some of the lyrics breathe ardent love of country; others deal with children. The most memorable ones are on the eternal but ever-new theme of love.

#### ABUNDANCE OF FINE PHRASES

One comment may justly be made—that, in several pieces, the rhetorical rather than the lyric quality predominates. This is particularly noticeable in the collection, "The Bird of Time". There is more abandon, more freshness, more spontaneity in 'The Golden Threshold'; more maturity and warmth of feeling, the depth and not the tumult of the soul, in "The Broken Wing". But in "The Bird of Time", one feels that the poetic muse is dragging along listlessly and has to whip and lash herself into some sort of tuneful utterance. There seems a temporary diminution of fervour. But in all the three volumes there is abundance of fine phrases, of silken terms, of tune and lively words beyond the reach of ordinary writers. They are strewn with seeming carelessness all over; one can pick them up at random. Here are a few of them: some more memorable than others, but all coming from a busy and well-equipped mind: 'like a star in the dew of our song'; 'silver breasted moonbeam of desire'; 'conquer the sorrow of life with the sorrow of song'; 'a voiceless captive to my conquering song', 'brows anointed with perpetual weariness'; 'all my blossoming hopes unharvested'; 'languid and sequestered ease'; "Tomorrow's unborn griefs depose

the sorrows of our yesterday'; 'the heavenward hunger of our soul'; 'the mystic silence that men call death'; 'the abysmal anguish of her tears'; 'the memoried sorrow that sullied a by-gone age'; 'the moon-enchanted estuary of dreams'; 'the glimmering ghost of bygone dream'; 'the radiant promise of renascent morn'; 'sweet comrades of a lyric spring'; 'the radiant silence of my sleepless pain,' 'fallen from its high estate of laughter'—one can cull such gems in ample measure. 'Tis sufficient to say that here is God's plenty.'

#### HIGH SKILL AS A POET

In spite of the mournful theme of many of Mrs. Naidu's poems, and the sense of tears, and the shadow of grief and tragedy, the total impression is that she has triumphed over life's ills, is always supremely conscious of life's beauty, finds abundant recompense in human companionship, and is ever prepared to challenge fate. Courage and the determination to brave danger and disaster, passionate loyalty to country and faith in its high destiny, wide tolerance—these also one finds. But above all, one is attracted by the grace and beauty of her fancy and the effortless energy at her verse. One has only to look at the following lines to realise her high skill as poet: the flow and the melody should not obscure the undercurrent of serious thought:

'Weavers, weaving at break of day,  
Why do you weave a garment so gay?....  
Blue as the wing of a halcyon wild,  
We weave the robes of a new-born child.'

'Weavers, weaving at fall of night,  
Why do you weave a garment so bright?...  
Like the plumes of a peacock, purple and green,  
We weave the marriage-veil of a queen.'

'Weavers, weaving solemn and still,  
What do you weave in the moonlight chill,...  
White as a feather and white as a cloud,  
We weave a dead man's funeral shroud.'

And here is a pretty little poem:

'O brilliant blossoms that strew my way,  
You are only woodland flowers they say.  
But, I sometimes think that perchance you are  
Fragments of some new-fallen star.'

'Or golden lamps for a fairy shrine,  
Or golden pitchers for a fairy wine,  
Perchance you are, O frail and sweet,  
Bright anklet-bells from the wild spring's feet.'

'Or the gleaming tears that some fair bride shed  
Remembering her lost maidenhood,  
But now, in the memorial dusk you seem  
The glimmering ghost of a bygone dream.'

In several poems we get vivid pictures of Indian life, both of the city and of the countryside,—'Palanquin-bearers'; 'The Pardah Nashin'; 'Street Cries'; 'Bangle-Sellers'; 'The Imam Bara.' In all her work, Mrs. Naidu proves that her work is not imitative or derivative. She has her own style, her own themes, her own melody, gentle and sweet. It is not surprising that Tennyson should have influenced her art, and Shelley, and Swinbourne. But while the technique of her verse owes much to them, the passion, the imagery, the golden cadence are all her own. Above all she has a special niche in Indian history; a poet is needed to sing the dawn, as Meredith said; and it is Sarojini Naidu's appointed privilege to paint the hues of the rich unfolding morn.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS

THE Editor solicits contributions on all topics of general interest, and in particular on subjects bearing on the political, commercial, industrial and economic condition of India. Short articles on topical subjects and short stories are preferred. Contributions accepted and published will be duly paid for.

It may be stated that a page of the Review takes in about 700 words.

All contributions and books for Review should be addressed to the Editor, The Indian Review, G. T., Madras.

# THE NEW THERAPY IN LEPROSY

By DR. R. G COCHRANE, M.D., F.R.C.P., D.T.M. & H.

In discussing any remedy which claims to be a cure for this disease, three considerations must be uppermost in our minds:—

- i. The drug must be within the financial means of every section of the community.
- ii. The method of administration must be both practical as well as simple.
- iii. The remedy must be possible of administration to the masses under relatively simple conditions.

Unless a drug fulfils the above conditions it is of little value except to the rich and dwellers in towns. At present none of the sulphone drugs fulfils these criteria, but we hope by the end of the year to have more light on preparations which we are trying and which promise to fulfil the above conditions.

When the *hydnocarpus* (*chaulmoogra*) preparations were re-discovered some twenty-five years ago, in which work, workers in India played a significant part, it was thought that a remedy had been discovered which would eliminate leprosy from the country within a comparatively few decades. This original optimism has unfortunately not been justified. During the last twenty-five years our knowledge with regard to this disease has increased very considerably, and we now realise that the leprosy problem consists of two different aspects: (i) the actual cure of that form of leprosy which is ineffective; (ii) the prevention, amelioration and re-habilitation of patients who have that form of leprosy which mutilates and in which the body has reacted favourably to the disease but left signs of the battle in the form of deformities, ulcers and scars. The latter is not

so much a problem of preventive medicine as one of social assistance rehabilitation.

Curative remedies and control measures in leprosy largely apply to the first group of patients, and up to now lepromatous leprosy has not responded as favourably as anticipated to therapeutic measures. Within the last five years the Sulphone group of drugs has been discovered and these drugs are proving more effective in our attack against the mycobacterium of leprosy than any other drugs so far used.

'We are still at the experimental stage in the treatment of leprosy with the Sulphone drugs, namely Promin, Sulphetrone and Diasone. While these drugs indicate some hope of success in the treatment of the disease, the time is not yet ripe to discard completely the *hydnocarpus* (*chaulmoogra*) oil treatment which still remains the drug at present universally in use in India for the treatment of leprosy. There has been the same uncritical optimism over the sulphone treatment as over all previous treatments. In the first place, sulphones, whatever the derivative be, take a comparatively long time to render a case negative. In the second place, it is quite impossible to hope that ordinary patients will take sulphones regularly by mouth for years on end. In the third place, clinical improvement is much more rapid than bacteriologic improvement, and, therefore, is very deceptive. In the fourth place fifty per cent. of cases, particularly under Diasone, are liable to go through very severe reactions. In the fifth place, the remedy is too expensive for general use, and until some of these major difficulties are overcome, I do not recommend using Diasone on a large scale. Also, it must be remembered that Diasone must only be used for definite lepromatous cases. We have no yardstick by which to estimate the improvement in neural leprosy, and, furthermore, too much emphasis on specific treatment in neural leprosy lulls the physician into the drowsy attitude that the patient is doing well, when all his attention should be concentrated on physio-therapy and orthopaedic measures, to prevent or alleviate deformity or threatened deformity.'

There is a growing amount of evidence that up to now these new remedies are not rapid in their action, and, therefore, while in the course of months and perhaps years marked improvement and relief will be seen, patience is necessary in order to evaluate the true worth

of these remedies. Therefore, if it is calculated so strict in restricting the number of cases negative by these drugs is three years, it will be seen that the half a million tablets of Diasone given for use in this country, now that the Central Government has agreed to allow them to enter India free of customs duty, will only last one hundred patients getting an average of four tablets a day for about three and a half years. This explains why the Medical Secretary has apparently been

As soon as one is convinced that there are more practical methods of administration of these drugs, then they will not be withheld from any suitable patients, but indiscriminate use and mal-administration owing to failure to understand the therapeutics of these remedies will only lead to waste of funds, disappointment, and possibly disaster.



#### A CURE FOR LEPROSY

This plant has been specially constructed for the manufacture of Sulphetrone, the new sulpha drug discovered by British medical-men for treating leprosy. A most dreaded disease which was for centuries considered to be incurable, and the victims of which had been subjected to the most rigorous segregation, is now found to respond to this new British drug.

# Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## "C.R." on Bapu's Faith

THE anniversary of Gandhiji's death provided an occasion for many interpretations of the Mahatma's life and teachings. Close associates and immediate disciples recalled traits of Bapu's character and actions which have endeared him to us for all time. And then savants in many parts of the world made profound observations on the meaning and significance of such a career in the context of world history. "C R" who moved on closest terms of intimacy for many years with the Mahatma put his finger unerringly on the basic factor in Gandhiji's faith.

"I had admired and loved him throughout the twenty-eight rich years of intimate joint labour, as never man admired and loved another," wrote "C. R" in the *Harijan*, "but it was in the last months of 1947 that my wonderment and adoration of Bapu rose to its highest pitch."

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept the doctrine of unilateral effort in love?" he asked me one day.

"There is no other way," I answered enthusiastically and without hesitation.

"Just so," he replied with evident delight. He always felt acute pleasure when I agreed. This is no compliment to me. "What about the response? The other party does not co-operate, and what good is it?"—all these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant and the road was straight.

Bapu's theory of life and action was always this, said some of us knew it, but never before was the full meaning and intensity of a faith so full, poured into the doctrine as now did incisively and unequivocally.

The rocket burst on January 30, 1948, and what a glorious illumination. It is all dark now and we see the opposite of the colours that dazzled our eyes then.

"Non-violence", "civil disobedience" etc., are all technical specialised phrases, says C. R. "The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love."

## New Shipping Service

It must have given H. E. the Governor-General peculiar satisfaction to be associated with the opening of the New Shipping Service from Tuticorin to Colombo. In inaugurating this service he recalled the glories of India's maritime enterprises in the past. Only the other day, Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, our naval chief reminded us that Indians in the past were trading with Egypt and the Roman Empire, crossing the Arabian Sea many years before Christ. There is ample evidence of this in Indian literature and art and in the works of Greek and Roman historians. "Since the dawn of history" observed His Excellency,

Hindus have crossed the Bay of Bengal and the waters of the Indian Ocean and colonised many Pacific islands. Long before the Christian era, Hindus penetrated to Sumatra, Malaya, Indonesia, and China. The Maurya kings assumed, as one of their regal titles, the name of the "Eastern Seas". Coming to more recent times, Fa Hien describes an ocean voyage in an Indian ship from Orissa to Ceylon, thence to the Nicobar Islands and to China through the Malacca Straits. This was in the fifth century A. D. It was in that same century that we established our rule in Malaya, Sumatra and Java. One dynasty or another of Hindus maintained this sea power in the Indian Ocean until the 14th century, when it passed to the Arabs.

C. R. must have felt a thrill as he named the ship *S S Chidambaram*. For, forty years ago when V. O. Chidambaram Pillai was canvassing support to his adventure in coastal shipping, C R was one of the earliest to give moral and material support with an enthusiasm that meant so much at the initial stage of that enterprise. The Swadeshi Company, faced with merciless competition from British sponsored and government aided B. I. S. N. Company, was not exactly a success. But it is a mistake to look for greatness only in finished undertakings. Chidambaram Pillai laid the foundations of an idea which is fructifying today.

### The Nizam's Lead .

Hyderabad is shaping well and is lining up with the rest of India, thanks to the sense of realism shown by H. E H. the Nizam in his appreciation of the situation arising out of the recent conflict with the Union. When once the Nizam realised that the only course for Hyderabad was to fall in line with the other States of India he lost no time in adjusting himself to the requirements of a truly modern and democratic administration under the new set up.

Apart from co-operating with the new government in advancing the interest of the State in every direction H E H. has set an example in his own person which cannot but have a wholesome influence on the feudal barons of his State. The Nizam who is reputed to be "the richest man in the world" has agreed to hand over to the State his *Sarf-i-khas* or personal estate which covers 7000 square miles and includes 2000 villages, the gross revenue of which is Rs. 3 crores. Already the Nizam's action has had a wholesome reaction among the jagirdars who are taking counsel together as to what they should do. We are not told the precise amount of compensation in this deal with the Nizam. Perhaps the Government do not desire to disclose the terms of compensation lest it should be criticised as being too generous. Without holding a brief for the Nizam one cannot help feeling that it is a tribute to the government's good sense that he is treated in a manner, which is in refreshing contrast to what obtains in this world of bickering animosities. Neither the policy nor the past actions of the Nizam were such as to deserve special consideration at the hands of the government who were compelled to

take military action against his State only the other day. But, as "Dürcher" says in *Capital*,

to take away the goods and property which legally belong to a man merely because you don't like him may be in keeping with Nazi concepts, but it is not a principle of law upheld by any civilised code. Events in recent years over wide areas of the world have spread the idea that it is a sign of weakness not to grasp that which is in your power to take, and one does not have to look far round the international scene to find examples of Government action which help to keep the spirit of lawlessness alive. By acting with restraint the Government of India have made a contribution towards strengthening general respect for the rule of law.

### Baroda and Kolhapur to merge in Bombay

More than once we have drawn attention to the significant achievements of the State department under Sardar Patel's direction. Probably the integration of the scattered States, big and small, with the adjoining Provinces or more viable units will remain the most outstanding feat of this epoch. And now the merging of a big State like Baroda, and of Kolhapur with its historic traditions with the Province of Bombay, is an event of even greater importance. For they are not like the tiny cluster of little jagirs which could be disposed of easily by the paramount power. Their rulers and people have a tradition and a voice which cannot be lightly ignored. Luckily for the Union and the States themselves, the rulers and people alike have been made to realise the benefits of integration. Thanks to their good sense and spirit of accommodation they have not hesitated to accept Sardar Patel's advice to integrate with Bombay. For the breaking down of State barriers implies greater uniformity in the administrative and economic life of the Union. That there will be difficulties in administering so vast an area is generally recognised. But

then as Dr. Jivraj Mehta, the Prime Minister, declared :

If the Government of the United Provinces could administer a territory of over five acres of population there is no reason why Bombay Government could not administer a territory with a population much less than that of U. P. or Maharashtra.

### The Chinese Puzzle

In the quaint yet diplomatic phraseology of Chinese politicals, Chiang Kai Shek has "suspended" himself. His retirement was quiet and dignified. Corruption and treachery have let him down. Chiang held that if his presence at the head of affairs in China was in any way hampering the peace move it was best he should "suspend" himself in the interest of his country. His disappearance from the scene, after 22 years of uninterrupted power in the key position in the East, is one of the most dramatic events in contemporary history.

Time was when Chiang was wooed by the biggest powers in the West, and the General and Madame were the recipients of the highest honours in the gift of England and America. When the war was on the democracies in either hemisphere vied with one another in glorifying him. Their names and portraits adorned the front pages of newspapers. But today with the Communists knocking at the gates of Nanking, the General and his wife have pleaded for help in vain. England and America have no further use of them and they have silently ignored Madame's piteous and frantic appeal. Other times other masters!

When Whistler had finished a portrait of a well-known celebrity, he asked him whether he liked it.

"No, I can't say I do, Mr. Whistler, and you must really admit it's a bad work of art."

"Yes," replied the artist, looking at sitter through his monocle. "This is a case where Art has been unable to improve on Nature."

### Burma in Travail

The Chinese tragedy of domestic dissensions and civil wars is being enacted in Burma. If the Burmese Government should fail to withstand the onslaught of the insurgents it would mean the end of that freedom for which Burmans have hankered for generations. Burma got her freedom for the asking and Britain made a generous gesture ending her historic role in the East. But it is some task to retain that freedom and preserve it against internal and external aggression. It was a fateful decision she made when she dispensed with the protection of British arms. For now the Communists, helped by hidden hands, have joined with the insurgents and make trouble for isolated Burma. While the Government in power has sought no outside help, nothing could stand in the way of the rebels availing themselves of support from any quarter. Thus it would appear to become an unequal contest.

### Eire and Ulster

The results of the General Elections in Northern Ireland show a marked majority in the Unionists—that is to say those who favour union with the United Kingdom. In winning the elections Sir Basil Brooke, the Premier has naturally made skilful use of Eire's determination to break the last link with Britain. On the basis of the results Sir Basil claims that Ulster has reaffirmed its allegiance to the King and its faith in the British Commonwealth. Eire and Ulster are poles apart in their ideological convictions and the more that Eire strives to cut away from England, the more tenacious is Ulster to join hands with Britain.

Manxman: "Is this play of yours clean?"  
Auty: "Clean! I should say so. Why, there's a bath-tum scene in the first act."

# FROM MY NOTEBOOK

BY "BEE"

## ON READING

I would have my book read as I have read my favourite books, not with explosion and astonishment, a marvel and a rocket, but a friendly and agreeable influence stealing like the scent of a flower, or the sight of a new landscape on a traveller.—*Birrel.*

## A PRAYER

From the murmur and the subtlety  
of suspicion  
with which we vex one another,  
Give us rest.  
Make a new beginning,  
And mingle again the kindred  
of the nations in the alchemy of love,  
And with some finer essence  
of forbearance and forgiveness.  
Temper our mind.

—*Aristophanes (Prof. Nairne's translation).*

## COMPASSION

The nobler a soul is, the more objects  
of compassion it hath. —*Bacon.*

## ON GIVING ADVICE

Old men like to give good advice; it  
consoles them for being no longer able to  
give a bad example.

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

## THE PATRIOT

If we did for ourselves what we are  
doing for our country we should be great  
rascals. —*Cavour.*

## HYPOCRISY

Hypocrisy is the homage that vice pays  
to virtue. —*La Rochefoucauld.*

## FORGIVE ALL

To understand all is to forgive all.—*Pascal.*

## ADVICE TO YOUTH

Ralph Waldo Emerson, "The Sage of Concord," when asked to address the graduating class of Dartmouth College, spoke as follows:

Gentlemen:

You will hear every day the maxims of a low prudence. You will hear that the first duty is to get land and money, place and name. "What is this Truth you seek? What is this beauty?" men will ask, with derision.

If, nevertheless, God has called any of you to explore truth and beauty, be bold, be firm, be true. When you shall say, "As others do, so will I: I renounce I am sorry for it, my early visions; I must eat the good of the land and let learning and romantic expectations go, until a more convenient season";—then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of art, and poetry, and science, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men.

The hour of that choice is the crisis of your history, and see that you hold yourself fast by the intellect. It is this domineering temper of the sensual world that creates the extreme need of the priests of science. . . . Be content with a little light, so it be your own.

Explore and explore. Be neither shamed nor flattered out of your position of perpetual inquiry. Neither dogmatize, nor accept another's dogmatism. Why should you renounce your right to traverse the starlit deserts of truth, for the premature comforts of an acre, house, and barn? Truth also has its roof, and bed, and board.

Make yourself necessary to the world, and mankind will give you bread, and if not store of it, yet such as shall not take away your property in all men's affections, in art, in nature, and in hope.

## WEEPING AND LAUGHTER

Remember the day when you were born,  
All were laughing when you were crying,  
Lead such a life that when you die  
Others should weep while you go laughing.

—*Sadi.*

## AN UNEXPECTED PLEASURE

[The following story is told of Henry Labuchere—"Labby" of *Truth*. The incident is related in "The life of Henry Labuchere" by Keaketh Pearson. Labby was 19 or 20 at the time.]

While at Cambridge where, by the bye, he did nothing but bat and run up a booky-bill of a good many thousands, he was in the habit of visiting more congenial haunts, such as Evans's in Covent Garden. On one of these visits he had the ill-luck to run up against his father

"What! Henry! Why aren't you at Cambridge?"

"Pray, sir, what business of yours is that I happen to be walking in the Strand?"

"What the devil do you mean? Business? Aren't you my son?"

"You must be mad. My dear old gentleman, you are ridiculous." And "Labby" passed on. Father and son caught the same train to Cambridge, but the son jumped out at the station while the train was still moving and was able to look up from his book when his fuming father entered. "Why, father, this is an unexpected pleasure!"

## SIT STILL AND CONTEMPLATE

To sit still and contemplate—to remember the faces of women without desire, to be pleased with the great deeds of men without envy, to be everything and everywhere in sympathy, and yet content to remain where and what you are—is not this to know both wisdom and virtue, and to dwell in happiness? —R. L. S.

## THE CHARM OF ART

Illusion and wisdom combined are the charm of art. —Joubert.

## THE SUPREME MISFORTUNE

The supreme misfortune is when theory outstrips performance.

—Leonardo da Vinci.

## LITERATURE AND LIFE

Is it possible, Gentlemen, that you can have read one, two, three or more of the acknowledged masterpieces of literature without having it borne in on you that they are great because they are alive, and traffic not with cold celestial certainties, but with men's hopes, aspirations, doubts, loves, hates, breakings of the heart; the glory and vanity of human endeavour, the transcendence of beauty, the capricious, uncertain lease on which you and I hold life, the dark coast to which we inevitably steer; all that amuses or vexes, all that gladdens, saddens, maddens us men and women on this brief and mutable trajet which yet must be home for a while, the anchorage of our hearts? —Q.

## THE JEWELS OF LIFE

He who has arrayed his soul in her own proper jewels of moderation and justice and courage and nobleness and truth is ever ready for the journey when the time comes. —Socrates.

## ATHENS

We at Athens are lovers of the beautiful, yet simple in our tastes; we cultivate the mind without loss of manliness. —Pericles.

## A DISEASE OF CULTURE

The longing to be primitive is a disease of culture; it is archaism in morals. To be so preoccupied with vitality is a symptom of anaemia—G. Santayana.

## WISDOM AND GRIEF

For in much wisdom is much grief; and he that increaseth knowledge increaseth sorrow! —Ecclesiastes.

# The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**VOCATIONAL TRAINING OF ADULTS IN THE UNITED KINGDOM**, (Vocational Training Monograph, No 1) issued by the International Labour Office Price 2 shillings.

This beautifully got up brochure describes in detail the organisation in the United Kingdom to provide vocational training to adults, since the end of the First War in 1918. This organisation has been adapted to varying conditions arising in the country. In recent years provision has been made to train the disabled and to provide skilled labour so as to step up production. We learn that from July 1945 to March 1948, 67,000 men and women had been trained and passed to industry and 8,706 persons were still in training. Both the administrators and the public in this country will do well to study the subject with a view to liquidate unemployment and to step up production.

**SCIENCE: OUR NEWEST FRIEND.** By Shanti Bhaudarkar Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay.

This little book is designed mainly for the use of the young to whom facts about the fascinating and inspiring world of Science are introduced in the way they could easily assimilate. What is more, the author is not more keen to impart knowledge than to inculcate in them the urge to observe and question which is more important. It inculcates what is known as the scientific attitude so that by observation and experiment the world will seem a new and wonderful place. The illustrations are helpful to beginners.

**PULMONARY TUBERCULOSIS, DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENT.** By Dr. S. Sen. Published By Bookland Ltd, 1, Sankar Ghose Lane, Calcutta Rs. 4-8

As the author has stated in his foreword this little volume is an attempt to make available to general medical practitioners something simple and handy about fundamental facts on Tuberculosis for ready reference and quick application.

The volume in itself is very small, handy and compact; in addition it is to a remarkable degree free from technical jargon.

There are two appendices to the book. The first gives a very interesting account of the development of surgical treatment in cases of Pulmonary Tuberculosis.

The second is an extract from Prof. Calmette's book, showing the place of the Mantoux test in childhood Tuberculosis.

**INDIAN AFTER DINNER STORIES.** By A. S. P. Ayyar, T. P. H. Adyar.

To tell a story with elegance and ease is a rare accomplishment. The stories regaled by Mr. A. S. P. Ayyar are truly racy of the soil full of practical wisdom and commonsense as in *Aesop* and ancient Indian Tales. Here is a booklet full of agreeable reading spiced with wit and laughter, that must do good to one's health of body or mind. One can't have a better companion as a bedside book to pass a merry time with. We commend it to all busy men as a good reading.

**INDO-RUSSIAN TRADE.** By S. M. Siddiqui. • Published under the auspices of the India Council of World Affairs by Oxford University Press.

Mr. Siddiqui's book is a little volume of just over eighty pages. A good part of the volume is covered by statistical tables

Apart from the tables the book contains only four chapters. The first two deal with the development of Russian Economy from the days of the October revolution to the beginning of the Second World War.

This is a section which will be of considerable interest to the politician and servicemen who have been called upon to give a shape to the country's Industry and trade, and steer them through the conflicting claims of "Private enterprise" and "State Monopoly". The experiments of the U.S.S.R. under similar stresses and circumstances have been briefly traced by the author and a perusal will certainly profit the men in the seats of authority who control our trade and Industry.

The Third Chapter and the fourth one entitled "Prospects" are of interest to the merchants engaged in foreign trade.

The latter appears to have been written by Mr. V. Ramakrishna Rao. Both the chapters, in spite of a number of instances of repetitions contain a careful enumeration of the many different possibilities of trade in several commodities between the U. S. S. R. and India. Apart from direct trade between the countries, the chapters also contain information regarding the markets which the U. S. S. R. have vacated and which India can profitably step into; for instance—Manganese Ore.

The authorities are of opinion that the U. S. S. R. for reasons best known to itself has for sometime past definitely indicated preference to Eastern Countries for purposes of trading, in various ways and that when India is ready to trade with the U. S. S. R. the latter would certainly extend similar facilities to her.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

**THE AMERICAN DEMOCRACY.** A commentary and an Interpretation by Harold J. Laski. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**OXIDENTAL CIVILIZATION.** By G. S. Ghurje, Ph. D. Indian Institute for Educational and Cultural Co-operation, N. M. Wadia Trust Building 12-D, Park Street, Calcutta.

**THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION OR SANATANA VAIDIKA DHARMA.** By Bhagavan Das. Published by Ananda Publishing House, Benares. Sole Agent, Indian Book Shop, Benares.

**MR. MAM'S OWN IMAGE.** By Ellen Roy and Subenayee Roy, Renaissance Publishers, Calcutta.

**INDIAN LANDSCAPE.** A Book of descriptive Poems, R. H. Cooley, Routledge, London E. C. 4.

**CONCENTRATION.** A Practical course with a supplement on meditation. By Ernest Wood, T.P.H. Adyer. **SOCIAL THROTTLE IN BENGAL 1957-1947.** A bibliography of Bengali men and women of letters. By Miss Indira Sarkar, M.A. With a Foreword by Dr. N. Law, M.A. Calcutta Oriental Book Agency, 9, Panchanan Ghose Lane, Calcutta.

**THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.** By William A. Robson, Longmans Green & Co., Madras, **MAM'S QUEST FOR SIGNIFICANCE.** By Lewis Way, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**YOGIC TEACHER'S GUIDE.** By The Rev. R. Conessa S.J., Padma Publications Ltd., Sir P. M. Road Fort Bombay.

**THE TEACHING OF SANSKRIT.** By Prof. D. G. Apie, M.A., B.T., Padma Publications, Baroda.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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Feb. 1. Budget Session opens in Dominion Parliament.  
 —Smuts' No-Confidence motion defeated in Union Parliament

Feb. 2. Stalin invites Truman for peace talks.  
 —Karen revolt in Burma.

Feb. 3. Mr. B. L. Sharma, Officiating Dy Secretary, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, appointed Principal Information Officer, Press Information Bureau.

Feb. 4. President Truman rejects Stalin's proposal for bilateral conference  
 —Hindu Religious Endowment Bill introduced in Madras Assembly

Feb. 5. Communists join Karen rebels.  
 —General Cariappa, C-in-C. in Madras

Feb. 6. Land reform in Hyderabad: Nizam surrenders personal estate

Feb. 7. Nanking rejects Communists' demands of unconditional surrender  
 —H. E. the Governor-General in Madras.

Feb. 8. Cardinal Mindszenty of Hungary jailed for life

Feb. 9. The Governor-General inaugurates shipping service from Tuticorin to Colombo.

Feb. 10. Judgment delivered on Gandhi murder case: Godse and Apte to hang  
 —Endowment Bill referred to Select Committee in Madras Assembly.

Feb. 11. Gen. Eisenhower appointed chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Feb. 12. R. S. S. and Mahasabha men arrested in Bombay.

Feb. 13. Nehru lays foundation of Vallabhbhai Nagar.

Feb. 14. Postal Union executive decides to postpone direct action.

Feb. 15. Railway Budget presented by Sir N. Gopalaswami Iyengar.

Feb. 16. Railwaymen's Federation Council decides to stay action on strike ballot.  
 —Greater Rajasthan Covenant signed by Rulers.

Feb. 17. Siam Govt. proclaims state of emergency  
 —Burma Govt. forces occupy Karen stronghold.

Feb. 18. Indians and Africans boycott Durban Riot Inquiry.  
 —Railway budget in Parliament.

Feb. 19. Akali leaders arrested: Master Tara Singh in custody

Feb. 20. Mr. Kiron Shankar Roy, Home Minister, West Bengal, is dead.  
 —Nizam's private lands taken over by Hyderabad administration.

Feb. 21. Israeli—Egyptian Armistice draft flown to Egypt.



SARDAR PATEL

Feb. 22. Sardar Patel in Madras.

Feb. 23. Bombay Assembly urges linguistic division of Provinces.

Feb. 24. P & T. Workers Council cancels strike notice.

Feb. 25. Dr Syed Hussain, Indian Ambassador in Egypt, passes away.  
 —Bill banning strikes introduced in Parliament.

Feb. 26. Madras Budget presented.  
 —Armed gangs raid Dum Dum aerodrome.

Feb. 27. Sardar Patel meets Nizam.  
 —Conference on Burma meets at Delhi.

Feb. 28. Finance Member presents Indian Budget in Parliament.

# TOPICS From PERIODICALS

## COMMONWEALTH AND INDIA

Mr. H. V. Hodson, author of "Twentieth Century Empire" expounds a new formula through which, he suggests, countries like India could become Republics with presidents while still remaining in the Commonwealth under the symbol of the Crown.

Writing in the *National Review*, Mr. Hodson says that "enlightened Indian opinion" wishes India to remain in the Commonwealth and would, he believes, be ready to accept the Crown as the head of the whole Commonwealth if that principle were presented in the right way.

The feeling against 'English King' in Ireland has only a fractional counterpart in India. On the other hand, there is a natural feeling for Monarchy. What is repugnant to Indian political thought is the idea of anyone but an Indian being the titular head of the Indian State and of the Crown appearing in India's internal constitution.

But that is not necessary to the thesis of keeping the Crown as the head of the whole Commonwealth. Without conflict with the principle, each member nation can have its own head of the State—the King himself (represented in the Dominions by a Governor-General) or, if any Dominion pleases, a President.

It is little more than prejudice to insist that the head of the State in every Dominion must be called a Governor-General and be appointed by the Crown when each Dominion has the right to choose whom it will to nominate as the Governor-General and His Majesty is bound by constitutional convention to appoint him".

Listing "practical suggestions", Mr. Hodson declares :

What is essential is that each and every member nation should openly acknowledge respect for the Crown as the head of the Commonwealth. That is all.

He suggests that this respect could be reflected in numerous ways. Commonwealth conferences on the Ministerial level could be summoned in the name of the Crown on the advice of Ministers in the host country.

The world-wide British diplomatic and Consular system should remain specifically at the service of any member nation not separately represented, and in rendering that service, should act in the name of the Commonwealth Crown. Ambassadors of Republican member nations should be empowered, by letter addressed from the King to their President similarly to act in the name of the Commonwealth Crown whenever they may be invited to do so.

"The key idea", writes Mr. Hodson, is that the Crown should act in two capacities: as the national head of the State for those member nations to which it is acceptable as such, and as the head of the whole Commonwealth where one member nation acts on another's behalf or where some action concerning two or more member nations is involved.

The writer stresses that, through the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, the Crown should remain the source of justice for the whole Commonwealth in all "justifiable" disputes among its members and in appeals allowed to go forward from the domestic courts of the member countries.

Mr. Hodson gives three main reasons why, in his view, it is important that India, if possible, should remain in the Commonwealth.

(1) Because of the mutual interest of her citizens and ours in an economic and social life which has become intertwined in many ways.

(2) Because it is highly desirable to forestall the attachment of India to any other group which might thus upset the world balance of power by breaking into the Indian Ocean zone.

(3) Because, in the long run, the racial and inter-continental conflict seems to be just as dangerous to the twentieth century world as the conflict between free democracy and Communism, and there are chances of mitigating and allaying it, perhaps solving it, within the Commonwealth which would be lost if the latter shed its present multi-racial character.

## GANDHI THE FULL MAN

Writing under the caption 'Gandhi—the full man' in the *Harijan*, the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya says:

He was essentially a human being but one who has furnished every phase of his character and exposed it to the full blaze of publicity. His conception of truth was not merely to lay bare all facts but to maintain no reservations about them of any kind. That was evident when the District Magistrate of Champaran withdrew in 1927 his insulting letter to Mahatma; and the latter forbade a copy of it from being preserved in the archives of Satyagraha. A similar situation arose when Mr. Emerson, Home Secretary, withdrew his insulting letter to Gandhiji during the first week of the Gandhi-Irwin negotiations, i.e. about the 22nd February, 1931, in Delhi. Likewise, his standards of *Ahimsa* would not permit him to tolerate ironical or sarcastic references to esteemed leaders of the Congress. The writer was once the recipient of the gentle reprimand when a jocular reference was made to a deceased leader.

'But to say that Gandhiji led a full life is not enough; he demanded that the life led by every Satyagrahi and every Congressman should be a full life too.

It is not enough if you spin, you must spin well. It is not enough for you to be friend of Muslim, you must promote communal harmony. It is not enough if you remove untouchability which is physical; you must admit the Harijan to social equality in respect of tanks, taps and wells, schools and workshops, hostels and hospitals, that was not sufficient either. You must admit them to temples. There still remained something left—and that was the economic position of the Harijan must be raised, for, he is still a serf in reality though not in name, as a farm servant and tiller of the soil.'

Gandhiji's cardinal tenets of *aparigraha* or non-possession, says Dr. Pattabhi, were an extreme representation of the basic foundation of reorganized society in which no one shall live on interest or dividends accruing from his own or his patrimonial accumulation of wealth or rents arising from similar acquisitions of property.

What is Socialism or Communism if not the rendering into daily life these principles of non-accumulation? To do so would be theft. Such exalted principles cannot be of universal applicability. These high principles point to a way of life so as to warn those guilty of moral aberrations against their impending doom.

## INDIAN WRITERS OF ENGLISH

The outstanding contribution of Indian writers to English literature is referred to in an article on India appearing in the noted New England newspaper, *Christian Science Monitor*.

In a feature article, the *Monitor's* Bombay correspondent, W. Gordon Graham, discusses a problem facing the independent Dominion of India—whether English or Hindi should be adopted as the nation-wide language.

Saying that India now stands at the linguistic crossroad, Graham declares that the dilemma is whether India should "adopt officially the language which will place in its grasp the culture and science of the most advanced countries in the world" or "bow to dictates of patriotism and pride, and develop a national language of its own."

"The Indian," the writer says, "is in fact noted for his facility in learning a foreign language and Indian writers such as Rabindranath Tagore, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, not to mention Mohandas K. Gandhi himself, have made permanent and worthy contributions to English literature."

Graham adds: "Until now, English has been, the *lingua franca*. Perhaps 10,000,000 good English speakers, have been enough to run the administrative service of the country, to engage in overseas trading and to lead the country, despite polyglotism, to its present stage of advancement."

"Do you know the only place where Scotchmen are ever seen giving their dances sing?"

"In Aberdeen?"

"No, in telephone booth."

## THE DELHI CONFERENCE

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru's leadership at the recent Asian Conference was an outstanding diplomatic feat, the *Economist* says. The article goes on to add that Mr. Nehru will have to "think hard" to find a basis for a new and satisfactory Asian grouping which will be not merely anti-European and proclaim that Asia is for the Asians only.

For the moment he has been clever, wise and lucky. To call together 19 nations in a mood of national excitement, to send them away in a mood of sober pride and to use first action against the Dutch as a lever for uniting them under Indian leadership— all this is an outstanding diplomatic feat.

So impressive have been the moderation and good organisation of the Delhi Conference on Indonesia, that some will want to turn on the Dutch and point impatiently to what can be done with Asian nationalism if it is handled right.

That would be unfair, for the Dutch are dealing with a group of Republicans which has no Nehru and whose political authority and strength have collapsed with such remarkable speed.

Two things about the Asian Conference should be noted in London and The Hague, the article adds.

One is that the resolutions agreed on in Delhi and sent to the Security Council, are calmer versions of more emotional proposals for action against the Dutch, which were modified largely by the advice of the Dominions of India, Pakistan, Australia and Ceylon.

The other is that the Conference having demanded that the Dutch make certain concessions by March 15 and by the end of the year, is bound to stand by its demands.

The delegates and observers of the 19 nations who came to Delhi from the Middle East, Southern Asia and the Pacific with regard to their first joint political act as dramatic and important will want to succeed. After all they represent one-third of the United Nations.

Pandit Nehru played skilfully the role of leadership which he is gradually creating for India. His original summons to Delhi sounded an angry note, a warning that the dying colonialism of the Europeans must not be allowed a last kick in Asia.

His farewell speech to the Conference spoke, on the other hand, of the great part Europe and America had played in world history and of Asia's desire to play a full part of peace and co-operation.

## SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE WESTERN POWERS

A writer in the *Round Table*, discourses the relative strength of the Soviet Union and the western world including America. It must be borne in mind that military power which was once a precise term is no longer so. It has become vague now because the difference between actual or immediate and potential strength has become very wide.

One nation or group may be so strong as to possess a good chance of overwhelming a hostile nation or group within a brief period, while the weaker, if it manages to survive and keep the war going, may have an equally good or even a better chance of winning. Those who say that Soviet Russia is many times stronger than Western Europe or, indeed, than the whole of Europe outside the "iron curtain", are thinking particularly in terms of immediate strength. They consider this to be so great that Russia could overrun the whole continent in a matter of weeks if the United States did not intervene in great strength, and very likely even in face of strong American intervention. As matters stand to-day, for a continental war, leaving atomic weapons out of account, Russia is stronger than Western Europe and the United States combined. But this applies only to the immediate situation. In the long run the United States is vastly stronger. And Russia must take the potential strength of the United States very carefully into account because the difficulties of preventing her from developing it are clearly immense.

Here is the overriding issue in present-day politics of power. Of the two giants of the modern world Russia is the stronger immediately and the United States potentially.

This is as might be expected, since the totalitarian nations will commonly maintain, in proportion to their resources, much more powerful military forces and armaments than the democratic. They are less influenced by public opinion, even though it is a mistake to suppose that any State can be entirely indifferent to it. Again, the potential strength of Western Europe, with its highly developed industry, intelligent and well-educated man-power and traditional military skill, is so considerable that it would have to be taken very seriously even by Russia; but the prospect of developing this potential without speedy American aid on a very large scale is so small as to be negligible in the event of a European war in the near future.

## GEMS AND PRECIOUS STONES

*Marg*, the illustrated quarterly, has an interesting article which says that social classification among the Hindus is so deep-rooted that even gems and precious stones are classified accordingly.

There are the Brahmin diamonds, the Kshatriya diamonds as also Vaishya and Shudra. And the same classification holds good for all other gems. The descriptions of the four classes are given for correct classification.

Amongst diamonds, for instance, those with a clear milky colour are Brahmins, with a honey-like tint that are the Kshatriyas, while Vaishyas are of a cream colour and the diamonds with a smoky greyish hue are Shudras.

With regard to their prices there is a general rule. If the Brahmin stone among the diamonds is worth say Rs. 1,000, a Kshatriya of the same weight would fetch Rs. 750, a Vaishya Rs 500 and a Shudra Rs. 250.

The same classification holds good even in case of corals. Sanskrit books describe the classes in a rather poetic way.

The Brahmin coral is said to be "red like the eyes of a hare," while the Kshatriya has a "lustre like the flower of a pomegranate." Naturally, the coral is red; but it is certainly clever of the Sanskrit scholars to have used apt colours to denote their classes. The other two classes are described as "like the flower of palash" and "like the red lotus" respectively.

Certain beliefs regarding the use or misuse of the gems are current. They have assumed the strength of traditional lore and many anecdotes to support the popular superstitions are handed down from sire to son for generations together.

Take for instance, diamonds: it is stated with the force of a taboo that "impure diamonds, if used in medicine, lead to leprosy, pleurisy, jaundice and lameness." The scholars go further and describe the process of purification of the impure variety of diamonds.

Generally, it is supposed that diamonds are the hardest substance known and as such cannot easily be reduced to powder; but the Sanskrit scholars knew some methods

of pounding diamonds and described many such processes at length.

"Medicines of which diamond is component," asserts a Sanskrit sage, "are like ambrosia. Their use will impart adamantine strength to the limbs."

For protecting the wearer from every evil, pearls are well-known. "Nothing harmful" we are assured, "will ever approach the wearer of pearls of valuable quality."

Not only the wearer, but the house where such pearls are kept "is chosen by the ever fickle goddess of wealth Laksamni as her permanent abode."

Of the ten defects of the pearls, four are more important. They are:

*Shukti-lagna dosha*: This defect brings on leprosy; for a part of the oyster remains fastened to the pearl.

*Meenaksha*: A pearl showing marks like the eyes of fish such pearls bring about loss of sons.

*Jathar*: A pearl without lustre and shade is described as 'Jathar.' this brings poverty in its wake.

*Atriskita*: When coral-like shade is seen on a pearl, it is bound to be fatal to the wearer.

About the medical uses of pearls, we learn that in powder form, they are great stimulants and they have restorative properties. They also, make a sovereign remedy for stomach complaints.

An emerald is the most auspicious gem; For when worn in pure form, which is cool to look at and to wear, is also free from dust, the emerald cleanses the man, so say the Sanskrit texts, from all sins. It also brings wealth, assures success in war. And emeralds are described as sure and infallible remedies for all cases of poisoning.

The various defects in emeralds are likely to bring trouble and unhappiness.

*Padmaraga* and *Manikya* are the Hindu names for rubies. Many ways of obtaining this gem are described in Sanskrit books. Some of them would sound fantastic even to the traditional believer. For instance, it is said that they grow on the hoods of serpents. They are obtained, therefore, by throwing a lump of cowdung over them. It is also believed that serpents occasionally take them out of their hoods to illuminate their path in search of food. In order to be able to get the gem, one must catch the exact time when the serpent is thus taking off the gem from his hood to use it as light.

It is said that mere possession of perfect ruby—*Padmaraga*—is a monstrous act—as monstrous as the performance of an *Ashvamedha* sacrifice. It leads to wealth, success and long life.

## SAGA OF THE SECRETARIAT FILE

Under the heading "The Saga of the Secretariat File," *Nagpur Times* writes:

"In the C. P. Civil Secretariat, 12 departmental Secretaries and nearly 30 Heads of Departments handle on an average nearly 3,900 files every day. These are mostly shuttle-cocked from one end to the other with the Secretaries: Under Secretaries, Deputy Secretaries, Additional Under Secretaries, Superintendents, Head Clerks, Sectional in-charges, clerks in charge and others serving as the links in this long chain. Each one of them is expected to scribble or add something to the file with the result that a frail file goes on fattening till it comes to its journey's end.

Each departmental secretary receives anything between 120 to 150 files a day. These files go on increasing in number as the day advances and by the time the Secretaries have finished their lunch quite a heap of the files fill all possible corners of their rooms.

Apart from those who brood over these files there are the peons and chapsris who are often found engaged in hot discussions as to how many files each one has to carry in different directions. They have not only a knack to assess the capacities of their Sahibs but also a sense of pride about the efficiency and the speed with which their bosses deal with the papers.

Hardest worked man in the Secretariat upper level is said to dispose off finally at least 50 files a day out of the average of 150. Of the rest nearly 30 to 40 go to each Minister. The remaining are circulated and reckoned in the offices.

The period of stay of the different files with individual Ministers vary from anything between 24 hours and a week and a fortnight in special cases.

Almost every file carries a coloured label on it. It is either "Urgent", "Immediately" or "Priority." Quite a large number are marked as P. U. D. meaning Paper Under Disposal. Interesting are the scribblings on the left hand side of the first sheet of a file in multicoloured inks and various styles of handwriting. These ordinarily denote the next man to handle the file with remarks like: "For necessary action pl."; "for reference pl."; "For perusal pl."; "For orders pl."; "Pl. speak personally"; "Put up on Monday pl." and such other notings.

The last but not the least are the bulks of files bundled in a red cloth which daily travel with the Secretaries and Departmental Heads from offices to homes and vice-versa, occupying inevitably the back seats of the cars and the cycle-carriers of the Chapsris."

## INDUSTRIAL HOME WORK

It is highly probable that many of those throughout the world who do work in their homes for industry "are employed at sub-standard wages, under conditions that are harmful and unsafe, in some cases to the final consumer of the product as well as to the worker himself", according to the International Labour Office.

This conclusion is drawn in a survey of industrial home work appearing in the *International Labour Review*, published monthly in English, French and the Spanish editions by the I.L.O. The inquiry was undertaken at the request of the I.L.O.'s Governing Body.

## IN PRAISE OF SANSKRIT

A writer in the *Modern Review*, Pandit Vidyashekara Bhattacharya, expatiates on the glories of Sanskrit and its indispensability in India. Answering critics who decry the study of Sanskrit as barren and worthless he asks: What is the condition of those countries of the world that pinned their faith so long on science and other material subjects, that boasted rather arrogantly of their new acquisitions of learning?

Why they have caused a mighty conflagration in which they themselves are being burnt out in the midst of hunger, thirst and squalid misery and untold sufferings! And yet they were untouched by the taint of Sanskrit! Nothing can be further from truth than the criticism that the study of Sanskrit will bring in her train only misery and poverty to her votaries. Rather on the contrary she will help them all as the divine mother of peace, happiness and prosperity.

In the temple of learning, he goes on to say, India, with the help of Sanskrit can occupy a glorious position in the civilisation of the world. Without that what is her status? What would be her acquisition? What would be her culture without Sanskrit, the soul of everything?

By means of Sanskrit there was a uniform undisputed sway from the cloud-capped Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was the only language of India in which she expressed her real feelings and sentiments.

On the dawning of precious liberty the pursuit of Sanskrit should be zealously undertaken, with necessary modifications, of course, here and there, in the light of modern requirements. It is a matter of profound grief that when the long-wished for liberty has come to us by the grace of God, the authorities strangely enough think of curbing the growth and expansion of Sanskrit, practically, clipping her wings and bedim her glory at a time when India expects them to nourish her and place her on a firm footing. May she grow with more beauty and splendour in every direction. Let it be remembered that with the growth and prosperity of Sanskrit are indissolubly connected the growth and prosperity of India.

Sanskrit, he concludes, must live and grow without any let or hindrance, achieving more and more wonders spreading her sweetest bounts to India and the world!

## THE EMERGENCE OF A GREAT LEADER

A study of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, and the role he plays in the Indian nation by Winthrop Sargent is featured in the American *Life* magazine.

Sargent writes: "India has managed, through a year of ups and downs to preserve her national unity, to liquidate the powers of a number of dissident Maharajas, to achieve a reasonable degree of law and order, and steer a middle course between the extremes of rightist and leftist autocracy.

"The reasons are numerous, but two are paramount. One is the shade of India's great modern martyr Mahatma Gandhi, who urged on Indians the lesson of tolerance upon which the unity of their enormous, heterogeneous nation depends. The other is the tremendous influence wielded by a single man who guides the politics of present-day India: Jawaharlal Nehru."

"He (Nehru) is not only India's Prime Minister, and first citizen," the editor writes. "He is the most promising political figure in a stirring and awakening Asia, and a statesman of world calibre. His instinctive sense of diplomacy and great knowledge of international affairs have made him a welcome and respected guest in the political saloons of a dozen European capitals.

Starry-eyed advocates of global government of several continents have mentioned him as a candidate for world leadership. Even Winston Churchill, for long an implacable foe of India's independence from British rule, has spoken of Pandit with the utmost respect."

# INDIANS OVERSEAS.

## Burma

### RIGHTS OF INDIANS IN BURMA

Premier Thakin Nu declared that Indians in Burma who preferred to maintain political connection with the mother country would not be entitled to the privileges due to Burmese citizens.

Addressing the second annual session of the All-Burma India Congress, the Premier said, Indians who identified themselves with the Burmese and who understood the Burmese point of view could adopt Burmese citizenship, subject to the provisions of the Constitution.

Thakin Nu added that the Government would do its best to assist other Indian nationals in Burma "in their lawful avocation".

### INDIANS IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE

About 2,500 Indians in Burma are affected by a Burmese Government decision to dismiss forthwith all non-Burma nationals in Government service.

An official announcement on Feb. 6 said this decision was taken "in view of the desperate financial position" of the country.

### INDIAN MISSION TO BURMA

The Indian Delegation to Burma headed by the Congress President, Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, has cancelled its departure to Burma following a message from the Burma Government they would appreciate the Mission's visit being postponed *sine die* in view of the Government's preoccupations otherwise.

## South-West Africa

### NON-EUROPEANS IN S. W. AFRICA

Non-European races in South-West Africa will be represented by a nominated Senator selected on the ground of his thorough acquaintance with their "reasonable wants" under the South-West Africa Affairs (Amendment) Bill introduced on February 7 by Dr. Daniel Malan, the Prime Minister.

The Bill, given its first reading, gives South-West Africa held by mandate by the Union, six elected representatives in the Union House of Assembly and four in the Senate, two of whom will be elected and two nominated by the Governor-General. One of the latter will be chosen on the ground of acquaintance with non-European wants. The Bill, in addition to giving South-West Africa representation in the Union Parliament, broadens the constitution of the South-West African Legislative Assembly as enacted by the Union Parliament.

South-West Africa will not come under the Union's taxation system under the proposed legislation, and its representatives in the Union Parliament will have no voice or vote in regard to any matters relating to the direct taxation of the people of the Union. In all other matters, the representatives will have all rights and duties of other members of Parliament.

The Bill declares that nothing contained in it shall be construed as in any manner abolishing the full powers of administration and legislation over the territory as an integral part of the Union.

## South Africa.

### DURBAN RIOT RELIEF AND ENQUIRY

Making a statement on Durban riots in the Indian Parliament, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, disclosed that according to information available to Government 53 Indians were killed and 763 injured. Among the Africans 83 were killed and 1,083 injured. One European was killed and 30 injured. 250 Indian dwellings and 53 shops were burnt down and looted. The loss of property was estimated at about £300,000.

Pandit Nehru also stated that an official Enquiry Committee has been appointed consisting of three members including the Magistrates of Transvaal and Durban and pending the report of the Committee, the Government did not want to comment on the causes of the riots.

The Prime Minister also stated that the Secretary of the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, Mr. Chari, has been asked to make investigations in this regard.

Pandit Nehru also said that nearly 2,000 families consisting of about 15,000 persons were in refugee camps and they were being looked after. India Government had made available a sum of £14,000 for their welfare.

## Ceylon

### CEYLON CITIZENSHIP FOR INDIANS

After two days' discussion in the Committee in the House of Representatives, the Indian Residents (Citizenship) Bill passed the formal third reading. The Bill will be known in future under the amended title, "the Indian and Pakistan Residents (Citizenship) Bill."

## Malaya

### INDIANS IN MALAYA

There was a growing political consciousness among Indians in Malaya, said Prof. Raymond Firth in his report on Social Science Research in Malaya, released recently.

Prof Firth added that the Malays were group-conscious, and the Chinese largely under the influence of their nationalism.

Of Indians in Malaya, Prof. Firth said there was a growing political consciousness, a body of active Indian criticism of the present regime, and a "very lively, if inexperienced, Indian trade union leadership."

"But it would seem that the bulk of Indians are at present somewhat quiescent and plastic in their local political ideas, waiting to see whether it will be worthwhile throwing in their lot with the Malayan community and its future, or whether their allegiance had better remain with their Mother country."

## Tanganyika

### RACE PREJUDICE IN TANGANYIKA

India called for United Nations vigilance against the discrimination in the British Trusteeship territory of Tanganyika.

Mr. C. S. Jha, India's delegate to the Trusteeship Committee, which supervises the administration of the Trustee territories with 15 million inhabitants, said that Africans and Asians in Tanganyika felt they were the victims of racial discrimination. He asked the United Nations to examine whether such discrimination did exist, adding that he welcomed British assurances given recently that suppression of racial discrimination was a cardinal feature of the policy of the Government of Tanganyika.

"It is not enough to accept a principle" he added. "It is essential that practical effect should be given to the principle."

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

### INDIA'S PLANS TO ELIMINATE UN-EMPLOYMENT

In reply to a series of United Nations questions asking United Nations members to indicate what they were doing to achieve or maintain full employment India has informed the United Nations that inflation, the need for more foreign capital and the high cost of importing goods are slowing down efforts to provide full employment and raise the standard of living.

The Indian reply stated that although no special steps were being taken to deal with unemployment, the programme of industrial, agricultural and social development would open new avenues of employment and so help eliminate unemployment.

"The Government is mindful of the necessity of utilising all resources for the development of the country and for raising the standard of living," the reply said.

India hopes to use the following methods to overcome her difficulties:

- (1) Welcome investment of private foreign capital free from any political conditions."
- (2) Encourage private and Government sponsored developments.
- (3) Increase production of foodstuffs in the country to stop, or at least restrict the food imports from abroad.
- (4) Control on imports which will be confined to durable capital goods and other essential goods.
- (5) Convert an adequate portion of sterling balances into hard currencies to finance purchases in the West, particularly the United States.
- (6) Seek food grants from F.A.O. grants of drugs and medicine from the World Health Organisation, monetary loans and grants from the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank.

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### SARDAR PATEL ON GOVT'S POLICY

The States Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, replying to a series of questions on Indian States in Parliament, said that the Government of India had recognised the desirability of approximating the position of States to that of Provinces and to this end had taken appropriate steps which had met with some success.

Sardar Patel said that in all the Unions, the Instrument of Accession contained a new clause in which the States had agreed to bring their administration in line with that of the Provinces. The Constituent Assembly had also appointed a committee to draft a model constitution which would be circulated to the States or Unions and it would be for them to accept it and incorporate the provisions as much as they wanted, the States Minister added.

### RECRUITMENT TO INDIAN ARMY

The Government of India have decided to abolish class composition based on fixed percentages in the Indian Army. A Press Note says:

"With a view to eliminating communal and class differences in the Indian Army so as to make it representative of all nationals in this country, the Government of India have decided to abolish class composition based on fixed percentages.

Recruitment to the Army will now be open to all classes and no particular class of Indian nationals will be denied the opportunity of serving in the Army."

## UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

### MAULANA AZAD'S CALL TO MUSLIMS

A fervent appeal to the Muslims of India to give their unqualified allegiance and support to the Indian Union and its Government was made by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, India's Education Minister, at a mammoth Muslim meeting arranged by the Calcutta branch of the Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind, at the Mahomed Ali Park. Maulana Azad said :

India is a democratic secular State, where every citizen, whether Hindu, Muslim or Sikh, has equal rights and privileges. Do not lose heart, or be perplexed. The Government is determined to crush all communal elements and has already put an end to the communal atmosphere that had been vitiating the atmosphere of the country only 18 months back. It is a great achievement for the Government to bring about this change in the atmosphere in such a short time.

Do not always think you are a minority community and the Hindus in a majority in this country. The Congress is pledged to establish a form of Government, in which communal minorities and majorities will have no place.

Think in terms of the Indian Union. Always remember that you are the inhabitants of the Indian Union and hence, you are Indians, irrespective of your religious faiths. Have faith in the Government. It is your Government as much as that of the Hindus. Give unqualified allegiance and support to the Indian Union and you will have no occasion to repent.

Exhorting the Muslims to be loyal to the nation and the Government, Maulana Azad continued that there was no need for having any fear or perplexity. They must have courage and confidence in the Government.

"What is happening in China?" he asked and said :

For the last 30 years after the attainment of political independence, China had been going through a terrific crisis—the worst type of civil war. This civil war served as an invitation to Japan to occupy a large part of that country. But even after the Japanese menace was over the civil war in China continued.

Now that India had attained her freedom, the Maulana remarked, she must take a lesson from history and guard herself against such dangers.

### GEN. CARIAPPA ON THE ARMY IN FREE INDIA

Replying to an address of welcome presented to him by the Madras City Council on February 5, General K. M. Cariappa, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Army, stated that the Army was there to serve the people but they must see that it did not get itself mixed up with party politics.

Men and women, and boys and girls of this part of India have all these years taken a great interest in the Army and I would ask you to continue to take the same interest because it is your Army. The Army is there to serve you. We are your servants. But, at the same time, you must be quite certain that the Army which is there to serve the Government of the day, does not get mixed up with party politics. It is here where I ask your help to see that it is allowed to maintain a certain necessary distinctions and guard it against the danger of mixing up with party politics. As long as the Government represents the people, it must have some measure of authority to exercise to rule and thank God, during the last months of freedom, that measure of authority has been there. We have had your appreciation expressed very liberally and very kindly and we will continue to serve in the same manner as we had done during the last few months so as to maintain and retain that kindness, and affection and respect for the Army. I want your help to see that the Army is allowed to maintain its measure of distinctness by not expecting the soldiers and the officers to get too free with the people; for, human nature being what it is, with more intimate contact, there is the possibility and danger of the officers being carried away by party political views. If that would happen, the Government cannot have the help it requires and that must be remembered by all of us, at all times.

### ADMIRAL PARRY ON R.I.N. EXPANSION PLANS

Plans for the expansion of the Royal Indian Navy were explained by Vice-Admiral W. E. Parry, Commander-in-Chief of the R.I.N., at a Press Conference held at Madras on Feb. 5.

Up till now the R.I.N. has been a Local Defence Navy. Its job has been only to defend the coast of India and Indian shipping. It was not a navy capable of taking part in naval operations or naval warfare. That was done by the Royal Navy for us. Now that India is a free nation, the Government of India want to have a navy capable of taking part in naval operations as well. In the first place we have to develop Air Component of the R.I.N. which did not exist before... The Navy will not be complete unless it has an air arm, and I am glad to say that the principle of Naval Air Arm has been approved by the Government.

## RAJASTHAN STATES

Greater Rajasthan, which will be the biggest administrative unit in India, will come into being by the first week of April. The Covenant for the Rulers was finalised in Delhi last month and signed by the Rulers of states present in the Capital.

Greater Rajasthan will consist of Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaisalmer and States of the present Rajasthan Union including Udaipur, Kotah, Bundi, etc. It will have an area of 120,868 square miles and a population of over 12 millions with a total revenue of over Rs. 11 crores.

## REHABILITATION OF REFUGEES

The Minister of State for Relief and Rehabilitation, Mr. Mohanlal Saxena, announced in Parliament last month that his Ministry since its inception in September 1947 to December 1948, had spent about Rs. 22 crores and 13 lakhs. Of this Rs. 57,2100 were spent on staff, Rs. 2,85,85,000 as loan to refugees, Rs. 1,52,44,000 on building quarters for refugees, Rs. 13,64,76,000 on refugee camps, Rs. 28,53,000 on training centres for refugees and Rs. 3,24,21,000 on miscellaneous expenses.

## C. N. MUTHURANGA MUDALIAR

We regret to record the death of C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliar M. L. C a leading South Indian Congressman, at Madras on the 5th February.

Mr. Muthuranga Mudaliar was a staunch Swarajist and became a member of the Madras Legislative Council in 1926.

His death is a great loss to the Congress Party in Tamil Nad.

## EUROPEAN OFFICERS IN INDIA GOVT.

Sardar Patel told a questioner in Parliament that there were 975 European officers still in the service of the Government of India. The concession of premature retirement extended to European officers of the non-Secretary of State services included proportionate pension or gratuity or provident fund benefits as would have been admissible to them in the event of their discharge from service on the abolition of their posts. In addition, the officers concerned would receive free repatriation passages for themselves and the members of their families. The extra cost involved in the arrangement would be borne by His Majesty's Government. Seventy-nine officers had availed themselves of the concession.

## MR. KIRON SHANKER ROY

Bengal is the poorer for the death of Mr. Kiron Shunker Roy, Home Minister, West Bengal at Calcutta, in his 58th year.

A well-known Congress leader, Mr. Roy was for many years a member of the All-India Congress Committee and leader of the Congress Party in Bengal.

After the partition of the province Mr. Roy became the leader of the Congress Party in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly. He later resigned from the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and joined the West Bengal Ministry, formed by Dr. B. C. Roy.

## INDO-PAKISTAN RELATIONS

The Governor-General of Pakistan has declared that relations between India and Pakistan have entered a new phase, following the recent agreement on outstanding issues.

## INDIANS AT SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

The number of degree students (270) attending the School of Oriental and African Studies is the highest in the School's history and four times the pre-war figure. The School, which is a branch of London University, has, in addition, some 500 other students using the specialised services available.

Nearly 50 languages are taught and the students come from all over the world. At present there are 34 Indians, 70 Africans, and 17 from Palestine. The students also study law, archaeology, history, local customs and culture. One hundred and sixtyseven professors and lecturers are maintained.

The School, which was established in 1916, receives grants from many quarters including the Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon.

## ADULT EDUCATION

Inaugurating the sixth session of the All-India Adult Education Conference at Mysore, Sir C. V. Raman appealed to teachers to apply themselves to problems of adult education in a scientific way. The problem of education was not political, but human and social, he said.

The task of educating people, Sir C. V. Raman said, was a very serious one and the greatest reward for those who tried to educate others was the liquidation of illiteracy. The argument that mass education should be hurried since they are independent was not logical, he added.

Pointing out that it was worth while to go slowly in educating the masses, he asked why illiterates if they were happy without education should be made literate. If unhappy, we should analyse the poverty, ignorance, and misery of the masses and find the necessary solution to correct them.

Earlier, T. Madiah Nayudu, Chairman, Mysore State Adult Literacy Council, welcomed the gathering.

Dr. S. R. Ranganathan, President Indian Library Association, presided. In his presidential address Mr. Ranganathan said that Education is the perpetual unfoldment of one's responsibility "in its own way at its own speed to its own fulness."

Rao Bahadur Ranganathan stressed the necessity for a department of adult education to co-ordinate with departments of libraries, universities and of secondary and elementary education. In order to remedy the prevalent mistakes in our adult education a proper organisation on national basis was also necessary. The President suggested the creating of the post of a national director of adult education to discharge the responsibilities of the Union Government in the sphere of adult education.

## SANSKRIT COMPULSORY IN C. P. SCHOOLS

The C. P. and Berar High School Education Board has decided that Sanskrit should be made a compulsory subject in the High Schools in the Province and English reduced to the position of an optional subject. The Board has also suggested that instruction in the High Schools should be imparted in the Provincial languages—Marathi and Hindi.

## GANDHI MURDER CASE JUDGMENT

Mr. Atma Charan, special Judge, delivering judgment in the Gandhi Murder Case at Red Fort, Delhi, on Feb. 10 sentenced Nathuram Godse and Narayan Dattatreya Apte to death.

Dr. Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was found not guilty and acquitted. The remaining five accused, Vishnu Ramachandra Karkare, Madanlal Kashmirlal Pahwa, Shankar Kistayya, Gopal Vinayak Godse, and Dattatraya Sadashiv Parachure, were sentenced to transportation for life. Digamber Ramchandra Badge, the approver, was discharged.

The Judge has recommended that in the case of Shanker Kistayya, the sentence of transportation for life may be commuted to seven years' rigorous imprisonment.

In his judgment, the Judge observed: "I may bring to the notice of the Central Government the slackness of the police in the investigation of the case during the period January 20, 1948 to January 30, 1948. The Delhi police had obtained a detailed statement from Madanlal Pahwa soon after his arrest on 20th January 1948. The Bombay police had also been reported to have had the statement of Dr. J. C. Jain that he had made to Mr. Morarji Desai on 21st January. The Delhi Police and the Bombay Police had contacted each other soon after these two statements had been made. Yet the police miserably failed to derive any advantage from these two statements. Had the slightest keenness been shown in the investigation of the case at that stage the tragedy could have been averted."

Referring to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, the Judge observed: "The prosecution case against him rested just on the evidence of the Approver and the Approver alone." He added that the Approver's evidence against him had not been corroborated, and observed "it would be unsafe to base any conclusion on the Approver's story as against that of Mr. Savarkar."

On the question whether the death sentence was subject to confirmation by the High Court, the Special Judge, citing the provisions of the Bombay Public Security Measures Act as extended to the Delhi Province, observed that Section 31 of the Criminal Procedure Code is consistent with the provisions of the Act, and therefore the sentence of death passed by the Special Judge is not subject to confirmation by the High Court.

As we go to press we learn that all except Shankar Kistayya, filed appeals in the East Punjab High Court against their conviction by the Special Court.

Nathuram Godse's appeal is only against his conviction for conspiracy.

## LEGISLATION TO BAN STRIKES

The Government of India may shortly introduce legislation banning strikes in the Railways and Posts and Telegraphs.

It is understood that under the proposed legislation, the Government will seek power to deal with the threatened strike which the Communist dominated unions in the Railways and the Posts and Telegraphs Department have given notice of.

Any strike at present is viewed by the authorities with serious concern.

## THE RAILWAY BUDGET.

An increase of Rs. 14.5 crores in the gross earnings of railways over the original estimate for the current year, and an expectation of a further increase of Rs. 5.5 crores in 1949-50 was forecast by the Hon'ble Shri N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Railways and Transport, in presenting the Railway Budget for 1949-50 in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) of India, on February 15.

The surplus for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 15.83 crores, an increase of about Rs. 6 crores on the original estimate. Despite the further increase in earnings anticipated in 1949-50 the surplus for that year is however, expected to decline to Rs. 9.44 crores. This drop is mainly due to the increase in the Wage Bill. The budget also reveals a record expenditure on the renewal of rolling stock, especially of overage locomotives. The charge to the depreciation fund on renewal account in the current year is Rs. 22.91 crores and in the budget year Rs. 33.86 crores.

## FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

Foreign capital at present invested in India is placed at Rs. 800 to 1,100 crores. The bulk of this is British, and the American share may not be more than one tenth of the total.

Repatriation of foreign capital over the last two years has been between Rs 60 to 70 crores. It has mainly gone to the United Kingdom, South Africa, and, to a lesser extent, to Australia.

At present, there is a tendency both ways, some foreign concerns in India extending their business.

The consensus of opinion among foreign investors appears to be that there should be no restriction on remittances of profit and interest, and—in extreme cases—of total assets, should a company decide to close its business in India.

It is argued further that in the case of new foreign concerns, the Government of India might impose conditions in regard to Indian share in investment as well as management and what shape the new arrangement will take is not known.

Moreover, the extent of compensation in the event of nationalisation is not known. The industries that are to be started do not consider a ten-year period as reasonable, as it is felt that it is only after 7 or 8 years that industries usually begin to pay.

## INDIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL BANK MISSION

The Finance Minister, Dr. John Matthai, in a statement in the Indian Parliament said that Government of India were examining with the help of the International Bank Mission, now in India, all their development plans, with a view to determining which of them might be suitable for being financed by a loan from the bank. He could not, however, at this stage give any indication either of the amounts for which the Government might ultimately apply for a loan or the terms or conditions on which the loan might be ultimately granted.

### WOMEN'S CONFERENCE

In her presidential address to the 21st session of the All India Women's Conference Mrs. Urmila Mehta discussed the role of women in free India. She covered a fairly wide ground. The programme suggested by her for the coming year included the organisation of maternity centres, fight against illiteracy, women's organisations in villages, the checking of communalism and an ambitious programme of constructive work. Also, she could not resist the temptation of advocating birth control by the people to keep down population. But she was against linguistic provinces, and condemned the activities of a number of 'leading personalities' in this country, who in her opinion have started a disastrous controversy among the uneducated masses.

The chairman of the reception committee, the Maharani Scindia of Gwalior, in her speech took up the question of the rehabilitation of Indian women recovered from Kashmir and Pakistan. She also urged the members of the conference not to neglect constructive work.

### RESCUE OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

The Governor-General has issued an Ordinance in pursuance of the agreement with Pakistan for the recovery and reparation of abducted persons.

The Ordinance confers on the police certain powers for the search and recovery of abducted persons and authorises Provincial Governments to establish camps for the reception and detention of abducted persons. If any question arises as to whether a person detained in a camp is

an abducted person or not, it shall be referred to, and decided by, a tribunal constituted for the purpose by the Central Government.

In accordance with the Ordinance, all proceedings for the production of any abducted person detained in a camp, which are pending before a High Court or before a Magistrate, shall be deemed to have terminated on the commencement of this Ordinance.

An abducted person is defined as a male under the age of sixteen years or a female of whatever age, who is, or immediately before the first day of March 1947 was a Muslim and who, on or after that day, has become separated from his or her family and is found to be living with or under the control of a non-Muslim individual or family".

### LADY MOUNTBATTEN IN INDIA

Lady Mountbatten, wife of the former Governor-General of India, arrived in Bombay on Feb. 14.

She is on a month's visit to India at the invitation of the Government and is accompanied by her daughter, Lady Pamela Mountbatten.

"I am thrilled to be back in India and bring with me all the good wishes to the people of this country", she said on arrival at the airport.

"I have been associated with medical aid, nursing and rehabilitation work and shall do my best to be of help to the needy", Lady Mountbatten added.

## GENERAL

### PRESS TRUST OF INDIA

A meeting of the Board of Directors of the Press Trust of India Limited was held at Bombay on February 3 and 4. Mr. K. Srinivasan, Chairman, presided.

The following Directors attended: Messrs. Devadas Gandhi, C. R. Srinivasan, Ramnath Goenka, W. J. B. Walker, H. R. Moharay, Ivor Jehu, Amritlal D. Sheth, and Dr. N. B. Parulekar.

Mr. K. Srinivasan has made the following announcement on behalf of the Board:

With effect from 1st February 1949, the Press Trust of India have fully and formally taken over the ownership and management of the Reuter and the Associated Press of India organisations in India and have entered into partnership with Reuters' world news organisation in terms of the agreement arrived at with them last year by a delegation of the Indian Press.

The Press Trust of India have appointed Mr. C. R. Srinivasan as their trustee on the Reuter Trust, Mr. Devadas Gandhi as their Director on the Reuter Board and Mr. Ramnath Goenka as the Alternative Director on the same board.

### NEW AND COLOURFUL STAMPS

A New series of postal stamps with colourful designs containing illustrations of historical monuments of ancient India is proposed to be released for sale to the public from April 1, 1949.

Printed at the Nasik Security Press on watermark paper in appropriate design and colour, the series ranges from 3 pices to Rs. 10, and the denominational value is inscribed both in English and Hindi.

### ASOKA PILLAR IN CURRENCY NOTES

India's emblem, the Asoka Pillar will replace the king's effigy on two-rupee, five-rupee and hundred-rupee currency notes.

Besides this major change in the design, alterations in the colour and printing of the letters have also been decided upon.

The two-rupee note will have on its reverse side, a large tiger-head enclosed in a circle. Variation in colour and adjustment in the position of letters are among other features of the new design.

The Government of India new one-rupee note, will be put in circulation by August next. It will also contain the Asoka Pillar instead of the king's portrait.

### CULTURE AND UNITY

Addressing the Brahmin Conference at Salem, Sir T. V. Acharya observed:

The bond which binds all Hindus together, wherever we live is the Sanskrit language and the Sanskrit culture which comes down to us from a period long anterior to the dawn of recorded history. People talk of India being a sub-continent and of the differences that divide the people inhabiting it. I have travelled throughout India at least thirty times and what struck me was not the diversity but the unity of the Hindu in the most intimate details of his life and thought whether he lived in Madras, Bombay, the Punjab or Assam. This unity is due to the Sanskrit culture and way of life we have inherited. It is this that has preserved our national unity through a thousand years of foreign rule and in spite of many destructive influences. I am glad that in recent times the prejudice against Sanskrit is diminishing in Southern India. The prejudice arose from the mistaken notion that Sanskrit, and the languages in Western and Northern India, derived from it, are the monopoly of the Brahman. Sanskrit and its culture are the heritage of every Hindu. I may go further and say of every Indian. For the mere music of the language alone, in grandeur of sound the only language that can match it is the ancient Greek of Homer. Every Indian should cherish it. It is specially the duty of the South Indian to see the Vedic learning and the proper recitation of our ancient texts are not lost for lack of encouragement. To my mind this should be one of the subjects which should engage the attention of the committee of this conference.

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## SRIMATI SAROJINI NAIDU

BY HIS EXCELLENCY RAJA SIR MAHARAJ SINGH

*Governor of Bombay.*

I first met Shrimati Sarojini Naidu nearly forty years ago at my parents' house in Simla. My mother, who was born more than ninety years ago, was not a graduate but had received a very good education in her home and was able to speak Hindustani and English with equal fluency. She immediately took a fancy to Sarojini who visited her whenever she came to Simla. They had a common interest in social reform and in the progressive grant of rights to women. I remember Mrs Naidu many years ago advocating the abolition of purdah, widespread education among girls and the grant of political rights to women. She had profited by education both in this country and in England and wished it to be shared by others.

What always struck one in meeting Sarojini were her vivacity and humour. She was always "bubbling over." In conversation she shone whether among Europeans or Indians. Britishers used to be startled at her unique knowledge of English, both literary and colloquial. Her poetry was far in advance of her times. I have often felt that the one branch of English literature in which we have not yet excelled is English poetry. Sarojini Devi, however, was an exception. I remember her once saying

that poetry must have come to her as a natural gift and that she could not help writing when the mood came.

Her humour was all pervading and infectious. She could be pungent at times, but it was well meant, and she would probably have said the same thing *before* persons as she would have said *behind* them.

Her tastes whether in food or furniture or decorations were irreproachable. She could always enjoy a good meal, especially when she came out of jail. She felt hungry, she said, on such occasions. She dressed simply but was always tidy in her person.

The last time that I saw her was six weeks before she passed away when my wife and I were staying with her in Lucknow last January. She had Indianised with great effect the appearance of the main drawing rooms in Government House and was proud of her achievement.

Latterly her health was not good but she paid little heed to warnings whether from friends or relations and felt that she must give pleasure to others so long as there was breath within her. Her hospitality was unbounded and she made no distinction between communities and castes. All were alike to her.

I suppose that she was one of the few persons who could take some liberties with Mahatma Gandhi. She would occasionally disagree with him and chaff him, for both had the saving grace of humour. She was

devoted to her children and felt keenly the recent death of one of her sons. The child who most resembled her in face and voice was Padmaja. She was much with her mother especially in later years.

The last time that I received a communication from her was the day before she

died. I had enquired after her health and had received a telegram that she hoped to recover for the Governors' Conference on the 6th March. Alas, it was destined otherwise.

My wife and I retain the happiest memories of our very dear friend, Sarojini, the greatest woman that India has produced for many a long day and one of the greatest of her time in the whole world. May her memory ever remain green and be a source of inspiration to many!

## THE BALANCE SHEET

By PROF. H. C. MUKERJI, M.A.,

*Midnapur College, Midnapur.*

THE Nehru Ministry has been in office for a little over a year and a half and the time has not yet come to hold an inquest over it for it is still very alive and kicking and likely to maintain itself in office for a long time. But it is always good to pause and look back as we proceed on our journey and take stock of the progress made and the journey that still remains unfinished particularly if the road happens to be dangerous and beset with difficulties.

At the very outset it may be said that this Government on taking over was beset with so many and overwhelming difficulties as scarcely fall to the lot of an infant state and it has emerged out of all these difficulties with triumph on account of the patience, tact and wisdom displayed by those who are at the helm of affairs. It has not only emerged triumphant but has got fresh lustre added unto it and has raised the stock of the country immensely. The refugee problem, the invasion of Kashmir, the

Junagadh and Hyderabad affairs are some of the ills which beset it at its very birth and all these have been effectively tackled though some of them have left scars which are not to disappear for a long time. Immediately after the partition of the country the refugee problem came into prominence taxing the resources of the State to the utmost and throwing upon it the stupendous task of looking after, feeding, clothing and housing and subsequently resettling in life about a crore of people who were uprooted from their native soil and came pell-mell to India in search of shelter and refuge. The problem has been tackled with great courage and promptitude though not as yet quite successfully for much remains yet to accomplish. Moreover the same principle was not always adopted and attempts were sometimes made to differentiate between the refugees coming from Western and Eastern Pakistan which is a sore point with the latter. Closely at the heels of this great

upheaval came. the invasion of Kashmir. The Government of India as in duty bound rushed to the help of the Kashmir Government and promptly saved it and the people from utter ruin and destruction and hurled back the invaders beyond the hills which formed the natural boundary of the Kashmir Valley. It poured its men and money unstintedly and earned the gratitude of the people of the Valley whose desecrated homes and ruined homesteads still bear awful testimony to the havoc which was created by wild hordes of fanatical barbarians from across the border lured on by the prospect of loot. But in an unlucky moment and out of a zeal to stand well with the civilized world the Government of India applied to the Security Council for its intervention and this opportunity, according to some observers has paved the way for the latter to bring about a solution of the problem which will only further the schemes of the Anglo-American bloc and will be highly detrimental to the real interests of the country. But we still cling to the hope that a fair and just solution will be arrived at and an impartial plebiscite will be held which will decide the fate of the State.

While this Kashmir problem was still taxing the brains of our administrators the police action in Hyderabad became necessary and this was so promptly and effectively taken that it belied all the calculations of the political pundits and it was well over before people had ceased to wonder over it and at the least expenditure of men and money. The voice of opposition in the Security Council was also hushed after some time when it refused to listen to tales of slander preached against

the Indian Union by the band of mercenary hirelings maintained there. It is to be hoped that within a short time Hyderabad will settle down and take her rightful place as an integral part of the Union instead of continuing in the very heart of India as a hostile State threatening the very existence of the country.

All these measures have enhanced the prestige of the country but none has conferred on it so solid a benefit as the unification of it under the inspiring lead of Sardar Patel. He will be entitled to the lasting gratitude of his countrymen for doing away with these congeries of States, remnants of Feudalism which presented the greatest obstacle to the unification of the country. A time there was when the Britishers ruled, to keep them alive to serve as a bulwark against the advancing tide of Indian Nationalism but after their departure there was scarcely any justification for their continued existence. It was Sardar Patel who realised this and set about to work for it with such wisdom, tact, patience and efficiency that the princely order generally submitted to his dispensation without any great protest and sometimes gladly and voluntarily, for they surely saw the handwriting on the wall and wisely adjusted themselves to the changed order of things. They acted on the principle that half a loaf is surely better than no bread. But there is no doubt about the fact that some of them at least were actuated by the loftiest of motives and wanted to efface themselves for the larger welfare of the nation.

India's prestige was further heightened by the two Asian Conferences which were held and both at the instance of the

Government of India. Though they cannot claim any solid achievement, they are fraught with great potentialities and they bear unmistakable testimony to the fact that India is determined to take her rightful place as the leader of the Orient and she cannot be neglected with impunity.

But though on all these occasions India has not hesitated to assert herself and take an independent line of her own, some of her critics apprehend that she is identifying herself more and more with the Commonwealth group of nations and with the Anglo-American bloc. It is doubtful if it is possible in these days for a great nation to live in complete isolation cutting itself off from the main currents of world politics and the charge, if true, can only prove, at worst, an error of judgment on the part of those who are entrusted with the destinies of the nation and nothing more.

All this is to the good. But in the economic sphere the Government's achievements are more doubtful. True it is that a balanced budget has been presented but this at the cost of taxing the poor man's bread and depriving him of his few comforts and luxuries (?), a principle against which Mahatma Gandhi waged a lifelong struggle. The spectre of inflation and consequent high prices is still stalking through the land. . . . But the well informed and sober sections of the people cannot but realise the unenviable position of the government. Due to the measures previously adopted to fleece the rich, a legacy of the Liaquat Ali scheme and the irresponsible talks about nationalisation of industries, capital had become extremely shy and no money was forthcoming to finance new industries or subscribe to the loans floated. This freezing of national assets had to be checked. The Government at first

gave solemn assurances entirely dissociating itself from any scheme of nationalisation of existing industries within the next ten years and as an earnest of its intention now wants to introduce these measures to give partial relief to capital and to bring back its confidence. Unless new industries are started and production is stepped up there is no prospect of arresting the upward trend of prices and thus giving relief to the hard pressed wage-earners, a point which is very often being missed by the latter. Expropriation is not the means of bringing back the prosperity of the country.

The same irresponsibility and lack of sympathy characterise the bitter criticisms of the people about the repressive measures introduced by the Government, particularly the Public Security Act and the manner it is being enforced, jeopardising the civil liberties of the people. . . . But the people very often fail to realise the dilemma in which the Government is placed. If peace is to be maintained and orderly government to function, the government has no other resource left but to act, generally speaking, exactly in the way it has done. There is no doubt about the fact that subversive activities are steadily on the increase and the Communists taking heart from the success of their endeavours in China, Burma and other countries of South East Asia are thinking of effecting a coup in India also. If the country is not to be plunged in chaos and if orderly government is to be maintained we cannot afford to be squeamish about the methods adopted by the government. But there is much room left for the exercise of wisdom and tact which seems to be wanting in some of the recent measures adopted by the Government. It is much to be regretted that it has not always shown itself responsive to public opinion and has not attempted to placate it. . . . It is earnestly to be desired that the government should be wide awake to this glaring defect which cannot but give a handle to its enemies and try to conciliate the public by whose verdict ultimately it will survive or fall.

# Dr. Weizmann, the Israelite President

By MR. V. KRISHNA RAO

THE Jews lost their homeland two thousand years ago; but the hope and the vision of regaining it have persisted in their minds across the centuries. Though hunted from country to country, they are a hardy race and have always been looking up to Zion.

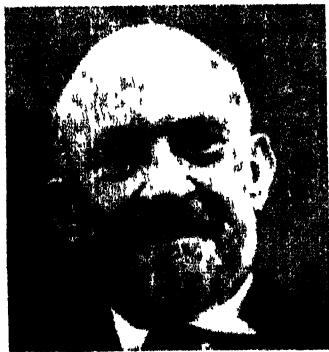
Whether they are a chosen people as they have been thinking of themselves or have been accused, as Hitler looked upon them, their contribution to European culture and civilization has not been negligible. Having had the best of their wealth and scientific skill, the Germany of Hitler, hounded them out of Europe and the best of their race, for example Einstein, had to seek refuge in far distant America. During the first world war, Balfour, who sought to pacify the rival claims of the Jews and the Arabs to Palestine, promised the former a national home. Since then, the tangled politics of Europe and the oil or petrol interests of Britain, could not afford to offend the Arab sentiment and the Jews had been kept in animated suspense. There was a British offer of a part of Uganda as an alternative to the Homeland of Palestine. It was unacceptable to the Jews. "Would you accept Paris in exchange for London?" Weizmann is reported to have retorted. "But we have London" Balfour replied. "And we had Jerusalem when London was a marsh" was the smart and cutting rejoinder of the Jew.

During the period of the British mandate of Palestine, the Jews sank their fortune in it. New Jerusalem was built into a modern city and Tel Aviv converted into a popular centre. Valuable and paying industries were started, such as diamond

cutting with the help of expert Jews from Amsterdam and the manufacture of pharmaceutical products, speeded up. Sanitary improvements have been effected for driving out Malaria and similar scourges. An hospital at Hadassah is said to contain 250 beds, manned by expert surgeons. A report on Palestine tells us the Jordan River Valley contained 17 per cent. Salt and was barren. By a remarkable patience and persistence, the fresh water of the river was diverted to the area and the salt washed out of the top soil with the result that tomatoes raised therein, are double in quality as anywhere else. These amazing efforts were made under the hope of securing a permanent homeland therein. But they realised in the course of time that they were dupes of British and to some extent, of American diplomacy. They dared to achieve by force, where they failed by fairness and patience. Arms and ammunition were smuggled in large quantities and a showdown was prepared. The Arabs, though superior in number were scared. Israel declared itself a State and over night Truman recognised the new status. Britain is now forced into a reluctant approval. Weizmann has been proclaimed the first President of new Israel.

Dr. Weizmann is the father of Israel. Born in the Russian village of Motol, in the Pripyat Marshes, he is now 74 years of age. Early in his life, he is said to have cherished and nourished the ambition of gathering together the scattered elements of his race, into the original homeland of Palestine. With that end in view, he has travelled through the different countries of

the world and secured their sympathies. Much of his life was spent in England where he was a Professor of Chemistry in Manchester, during the first World War and in that capacity is said to have rendered invaluable services to that country. He sent his son Michael to the theatre of war and he was killed in action with the R. A. F. During the course of the War, an important ingredient of gun-powder, acetone, became



DR. WEIZMANN

scarce in England. The munition industry was threatened. Dr. Weizmann who was then Professor of Chemistry at Manchester, carried on some experiments and turned out acetone from chestnuts which were abundant in England. It was a very timely help and the then Prime-Minister of England, Lloyd George told the House of Commons that Dr. Weizmann saved absolutely the British army at a critical moment. For his services the Prime Minister offered him a peerage and a monetary award. He declined both but prayed for a sympathetic consideration of the Jewish cause. The help that he rendered in the course of the second world war was not less important. He was then in America. America went

short of rubber. The Doctor found a synthetic substitute and helped the nation. Truman publicly thanked him for "the help rendered by him in winning both the first and the second world wars."

Dr. Weizmann is a man of peace and has been eschewing violence for which he is considered soft in some Jewish quarters. - Twenty-five years ago, he stated this ideal: If Palestine were a real-estate development, instead of a spiritual homeland, there are a dozen New York financiers who could get together and buy it. Then all this talk about Zionism about idealism would be meaningless. .... But Palestine cannot be bought. It must be won by suffering. It must be paid for by the pangs of birth. Our relation to Palestine can only be a relation of the mother to her child. She bears the child with pain, she delivers it with pain and the first years of its life are years of pain and anxiety." Is there not a Gandhian ring about it?

The words have been prophetic. The Jew has found his Home. The leading European countries have recognised the Independence of Israel. The United Nations are going to bless it.

It is a happy thing that Dr. Weizmann is presiding over its destiny as he had been consolidating the nation for the last fifty years of his life. The future of both the Jew and the Arab lies in the way of conciliation and it is a hopeful sign that Transjordan and Egypt are in the line. It is hoped that under the wise guidance of Dr. Weizmann the 2000 years old problem and feud will find a final and peaceful solution.

# FROM MY NOTEBOOK ..

BY "BEE"

## A SWEET THING IT IS TO BE ALIVE

[This, from LAVENGRO is one of the master passages of English prose—expressing rich joy in open air life, and in life itself. Borrow has met a man sitting on the heath and they fall into talk.]

"What is your opinion of death, Mr. Peter Lengro?" said I, as I sat down beside him.

"My opinion of death, brother, is much the same as that in the old song of Pharaoh, which I have 'heard my grandma sing':—

'Canna marel O manus chivios ande puv,  
Ta rovel pa laste O chavo ta romi.'

When a man dies, he is cast into the earth, and his wife and child sorrow over him. If he has neither wife nor child, then his father and mother, I suppose; and if he is quite alone in the world, why, then, he is cast into the earth, and there is an end of the matter.

"And do you think that is the end of man?"

"There's an end of him, brother, more's the pity."

"Why do you say so?"

"Life is sweet, brother."

"Do you think so?"

"Think so! There's night and day, brother, both sweet things; sun, moon and stars, brother, all sweet things; there's likewise a wind in the heath. Life is very sweet, brother; who would wish to die?"

"I would wish to die—."

"You talk like a gorgio—which is the same as talking like a fool. Were you a Rommany Chal you would talk wiser. Wish to die, indeed! A Rommany Chal would wish to live for ever!"

"In sickness, Jasper!"

"There's the sun and the stars, brother."

"In blindness, Jasper!"

"There's the wind on the heath, brother; if I could only feel that I would gladly live for ever. Dosta, will now go to them tents and put on the gloves; and I'll try to make you feel what a sweet thing it is to be alive, brother."

## THE BEST LIFE

Choose the best life; use will make it pleasant.

—Pythagoras.

## SOHRAB AND RUSTUM

[On the banks of the Oxus two great warriors engage in mortal combat. Old Rustum discovers he has killed his son Sohrab. The epic fight and the tragic discovery yield a moment of tremendous passion, charged with dramatic interest. But the poet closes with a picture of the calm serenity of nature amidst the perplexities of human life.]

Aud Rustum and his son were left alone.

But the majestic river floated on,  
Out of the mist and hum of that low land,  
Into the frosty starlight, and there moved,  
Rejoicing, through the hushed Chorasmian waste,  
Under the solitary moon:—he flow'd  
Right for the polar star, past Orgunje,  
Brimming, and bright, and large; then sands begin  
To hem his watery march, and dam his streams,  
And splits his currents; that for many a league  
The shorn and parcel'd Oxus strains along  
Through beds of sand and matted rushy isles—  
Oxus, forgetting the bright speed he had  
In his high mountain-oracle in Pamere,  
A foil'd circuitous wanderer—till at last,  
The long'd-for dash of waves is heard, and wide  
His luminous home of waters opens, bright  
And tranquil, from whose floor the new-bathed stars  
Emerge, and shine upon the Aral Sea.

—M. Arnold.

## TO BE HONEST, TO BE KIND

To be honest, to be kind—to earn a little and to spend a little less—to make upon the whole a family happier for his presence—to renounce when that shall be necessary and not be embittered—to keep a few friends but these without capitulation—above all, on the same grim condition, to keep friends with himself—here is a task for all that a man has of fortitude and delicacy.

—Stevenson.

## LOVE AND MARRIAGE

Love is more pleasing than marriage because romances are more amusing than history.

—Chamfort.

## THE DUTIFUL WIDOW

In the outskirts of old Chang-an there once dwelt in peaceful retirement the philosopher Chuang-Tzu. Sharing his blissful life was his beautiful wife, the good lady T'ien, as faithful a mate any mortal could ever find.

As was his wonted custom, our philosopher never missed his daily late afternoon stroll in the hills. On one of these occasions he came across a young woman bent over a newly-made grave—fanning it!

"Whatever are you doing, my good lady?" asked Chuang-Tzu politely. The woman caught unawares blushed, then answered between sobs:

"My husband, alas! whom I now (*sob*) mourn,

· A short time since (*sob*) to this grave (*sob*) was borne.

And (*sob*) he lies buried in this (*sob-sob*) grave.

· Ere my (*sob*) husband died, he called me (*sob*) once (*sob-sob*) to his side,

And grasping me (*sob*)—with his dying lips said,

'When I'm gone (*sob-sob*) promise (*sob*) never to wed,

Till the earth is (*sob*) dry on my grave.'

· So you see me fanning my late lord's grave to hasten the process."

—LIN SIAN-TEK in "Manila Sunday Tribune,"  
Philippine Islands..

## LIFE BEYOND DEATH

What shall I do with those things which do not give me the life which is beyond death?

—*Maitreyi.*

## REASON AND ENTHUSIASM

Reason is not sufficient to overcome passion: we must take to us the power of a noble enthusiasm.

—*Fabianus.*

## THE CROSSING

When I shall be called to make  
That inevitable silent crossing  
I shall beg to linger—

While I look indelibly on scenes  
I have loved long and passionately.

And I would carry them

Like sweet incense

Within my heart—

The glory of dawn and twilight,

The quietude of starry nights,

The clasp of friendly hands,

The tender voice of love .....

Then as my bark forsakes familiar

moorings

I will go taking these memories

I have loved

So that Heaven's beauties

Seem not too strange.

—*Lida Davis Jones* in the "Churchman."

## THE PERFECT DUTIES

Gentleness and cheerfulness, these come before all morality; they are the perfect duties.

—*R. L. S.*

## SILENCE AND SPEECH

Remember what Simonides said—that he never repented that he had held his tongue, but often that he had spoken.—*Plutarch*

## CALVARY

And when they were come to the place which is called Calvary, there they crucified Him, and the malefactors, one on the right hand, and the other on the left.

Then said Jesus, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

—*St. Luke.*

# FOREIGN CAPITAL IN NEW INDIA ..

PROF. G. P. GUPTA, M.Com.

*Commerce College, Wardha*

THE position of foreign capital in Indian economy has often been the subject of public examination. The political domination of the Britishers has always had the upper hand. Now that India has emerged as a Free and Independent nation and has to proceed at a rapid pace with the programme of her industrialisation, this question must be studied from a different angle. The most outstanding feature of foreign investments in India has been foreign domination—Economic and Political, as the “processes of Capital have been the processes of Conquest.” But it cannot be overlooked that the present magnitude of India’s industrial development owes, in a large measure, to foreign capital—both physical and financial.

## ESTIMATES OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

It is a pity that there are no reliable and accurate statistics of the aggregate foreign capital invested in India. Whatever estimates are available are either based on guess work or have become out of date. With the liquidation of sterling liabilities, which formerly formed a major portion of external indebtedness, most of the public borrowing has vanished. According to Shri N. R. Sarkar, “of the amount engaged in private industries over half is employed in trading and manufacturing industries. Banking and insurance companies together absorb rather more than one-fifth; Steamship and Railways about 13% and tea plantations and mines about 5% each.”

Foreign investments in India have taken place in the following forms:

(i) Investment of capital in company shares and similar rights.

(ii) Private investments in medium or long-term private and public loans, advances and credit-grants to private borrower and public authorities.

(iii) Direct investments in property and business concerns owned and managed by foreign investors themselves, either personally or in associations.

(iv) Government to Government grant or loan, *ie*, loans and credits granted by Government and other public bodies.

## NEED FOR INVESTMENT CENSUS

The need for a census of foreign capital in India is imperative if we want to look at the foreign investment position in its right perspective, and the Government of India should at once undertake the campaign in collaboration with commercial bodies. In assessing the aggregate amount of foreign investments, foreign assets and liabilities of each country should also be considered, because international monetary co-operation, multilateral convertibility and international exchange system through the machinery of International Monetary Fund would only then be possible. The important task of compulsory Census should be entrusted to some National Institution, and the Reserve Bank of India which has recently been nationalised will be the right authority. In order to keep the information up-to-date complete record of further foreign investments should be maintained and this can be facilitated if the registration of the future investments are made compulsory under the law.

#### FUTURE ROLE OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

The days are gone when foreign capital was virtually the 'master' of Indian economy. In the region of Independent India now foreign capital shall have to act like a 'servant' who should be properly paid provided the "service rules" are not violated. Pandit Nehru, while addressing the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industries at New Delhi on 3rd March, 1947, is reported to have remarked that there was no reason why there should not be a place in India for industrialists and businessmen from outside, provided they fitted into the Indian picture of the future. Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, while he was the Minister of Industries and Supplies aptly stated in the Assembly, "We could no longer think in terms of narrow nationalism nor repeat the old language of isolationism". If India has to speed up her economic development foreign capital will be inevitable. History bears testimony to the fact that very few countries have been able to industrialise without significant foreign investment. Even the United States has had a very significant portion of its industrial advance financed by British and European capital. But our dependence on foreign capital should be limited to a limited period only so long as India's proverbially shy and conservative capital, as the External Capital Committee puts it, is not coming forward.

#### "SERVICE RULES" FOR FOREIGN CAPITAL

Whatever *Laissez Faire* policy may have been followed in the case of foreign capital, the time has come when direct and indirect control on foreign investments would be necessary. "Service Rules" must be framed. The activities of outsiders in the

economic sphere are restricted in various countries through legislation or administrative decrees. The Government of India should also place certain specific restrictions against the investment of foreign capital. A foreign manufacturer should be required under the rules to secure a licence from some National Authority who will oblige him to fulfil certain conditions before permission is granted to set up his business in the country. Even when no special concessions are granted to him, these rules should in no case be relaxed. "The Irish Control of Manufacturer Bill 1932" was passed to prohibit non-nationals from operating a concern so far as the protected industries are concerned. A similar provision should now be introduced in India. The National Authority conferred with the right of granting licences should make a thorough scrutiny of the case to see that the proposed enterprise is inevitable for the development of the national economy and the licences so granted should be for a limited period of time.

All those enterprises which are foreign in spirit but Indian in name either by putting in the words "India Ltd." or by taking Indians as junior partners in their associations should be carefully checked by the licencing authority. A set of terms and conditions defining the Indian enterprises should be framed so as to include enterprises which are essentially Indian-financed and managed by Indians or predominantly Indian Capital and Management.

#### N.P.C. ON FOREIGN CAPITAL

The National Planning Committee have passed the following resolutions on the investment of foreign capital in India:

(i) "That investments of foreign capital in our agricultural, mineral and industrial concerns has resulted in foreign control over our economic and political life which has warped and retarded the national development."

(ii) "That hereafter investment of foreign capital should not ordinarily be permitted to involve ownership and management in respect of industries and national importance."

(iii) "In view of our vast capital requirements in the coming years we may accept foreign capital only in the shape of loans, credit or through the state".

• (iv) "The special statutory so-called "Commercial Safeguards" should be replaced forthwith.

#### STEPS AGAINST EXISTING FOREIGN CAPITAL

As India has cast away the political yoke of foreigners it is not difficult to accelerate the pace of Indian enterprises at the cost of foreign interests which had so far blocked the way. But that would not be a sound policy. There should not be any compulsory expropriation of the foreign capitalist. But a well-planned policy only would keep the balance right. Preferential stimulus should be given to Indian enterprise and special facilities, if any, granted to the foreign capitalists should be withdrawn which will give a natural impetus to the Indian capital. In case of highly specialised industries the present concessions may continue, but an agreement should be entered into with their management which would leave the control of the management in the hands of the foreigners only for a limited period, after which control and management should pass to the Indian hands. Arrangements should be made to train the personnel for taking charge of the managements. In case of those enterprises in which foreigners have taken Indians as their juniors effective control should be retained in the hands of the Indians.

It would not be out of place to mention here that India's demand for foreign capital—physical and financial—have increased in the immediate postwar period due to her intense need for reconstruction of war shattered economy and also to develop the underdeveloped and undeveloped areas. India's present demand is for capital goods which can be supplied only by capital exporting countries, the chief among them being U. S. A. But the safest course for India would be to borrow from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development on reasonable terms because it would prevent black marketing in the foreign capital.

Besides, the Government of India must import the capital which they can very efficiently put into the economic development of the country. The immediate needs should be well studied. The International Co-operative Machinery—the International Bank—will go a long way to achieve this objective. Before advancing loans the plans would be well scrutinised and future prospects estimated. This will prevent waste of foreign capital and thus avoid foreign rule resulting from economic domination. Foreign capital may be had from the following sources:

(1) Government to Government grant or loan.

(2) Private investments in the industries, business and fixed assets.

(3) Private borrowings.

(4) International Bank.

#### NATIONAL INVESTMENT AUTHORITY

There should be some National Investment Authority who would estimate the capital requirements of the country and

arrange for the import of foreign capital for subsequent allocation to the local industries. The requirements of foreign capital by India can be well judged by an independent authority keeping in view the interest of the nation as a whole. This method would avoid the dangers of private imports of foreign capital which has been a sufficient warning to India in the past. The National Authority would be able to secure more favourable terms than what the private borrowers would do and would avoid

the usual complications that have arisen from the use of external capital.

The new role which foreign capital is to play in Free and Independent India may be expressed in the words of the Montagu Chelmsford Report. (Para 344.)

"Clearly it is the duty of the British Commerce in India to identify itself with the interests of India, which are higher than the interests of any community to use its considerable wealth and opportunities to commend itself to India, and, having demonstrated both its value and its good intentions, to be content to rest like other industries on the new foundation of Government in the wishes of the people".

## INDIAN COMMUNISTS

BY MR. P. N. SAMPATH

**O**RIGINALLY, the Communists in India formed part of the Indian National Congress, constituting its Left Wing. In the early struggles against British Imperialism, they had their due share. However, they have been just an obstreperous minority as a political entity, with little influence and following in this country.

During the period immediately preceding Russian participation in the last war, the Indian Communists were derisively declaring that it was an "Imperialists' War." But, when Russia was roped into the conflagration by Nazi aggression, our Communists threw all their energy and enthusiasm on the side of the Allies, because Russia's entry had transformed the Imperialists' War overnight into the "Peoples' War." The Indian National Congress, however, took an entirely different attitude to the War, and the Comrades had come to a permanent parting of the ways. As a necessary consequence thereof, while Congressmen suffered incarceration, the Communists

commanded all the goodwill of the British Indian administration. The government's Grow More Food and recruitment campaigns had the enthusiastic support of the Communists. They aided the government in bringing hoarders and blackmarketeers to book. It is said that some of the Congressmen who were lying low in hide-outs, were ferreted out by the Comrades for safer custody in government jails. Thus, during this later war period of three or four years, the Communists were in a privileged position.

The emergence of Soviet Russia as a great power out of the members of war gave a special fillip to Indian Communism. But, the same fact excited the envy and suspicion of the Western powers. With the slow estrangement in the relations between Russia and the Western Allies, governmental favour was by degrees withdrawn from the Communist party. Later on, when the Congress got the reins of power, no working arrangement could be arrived at with the Communists.

The War had deteriorated living conditions for the poor and lower middle classes. Its aftermath or backwash was having a disastrous effect all the world over. War profiteers and blackmarketeers had fattened at the expense of the general public. The economy of our country was greatly upset. The trend towards Inflation had already started. This state of affairs afforded ideal opportunity for the Communists to acquire power and influence with the masses. They deftly played on their embittered emotions. Compared to these efforts, the Congress had not as yet any plan for promoting labour welfare. Having thus no serious rivals, and aided by trained and devoted personnel, the Communists became the pioneers of Indian Labour Movement. This enviable position could easily have been capitalised by them.

But, they chose to abdicate their position of advantage, so well and studiously earned. For no adequate reason they abandoned all constitutional means, (when such means alone could have brought the bacon home), and conjugated themselves into the aggressive and violent mood. They started a class-war against capitalists and landowners. The labourers were galvanized into frantic actions by subtle propaganda and open incitement. The last S. I. R. strike, the troubled conditions created in parts of Malabar and Tanjore districts, the very recent sabotage at the Calcutta Telephone Exchange, are some of their froward acts of fantasm.

It is some sort of intellectual dyspepsia that had made the Indian Communists blind to the fact that conditions in India are quite different from those in Russia when

Lenin blew the trumpet for bloody revolution. By resorting to indiscriminate violence, the Communists have alienated public sympathy. As a nation we have a natural revulsion for any act of violence and bloodshed, and this fact the Communists must have taken into serious account, in shaping their policy. Their adhesiveness to an acquired idea must not have shut their eyes to local conditions. There can be no uniform remedy for all countries, since conditions differ so much between country and country. It is not for nothing that veteran labour leaders like N. M. Joshi, Ruiker, Mrinal Kanti Ghosh, and others were compelled to come out of the Communist-controlled Trade Union Congress. These leaders have found the whole atmosphere insufferable. By their present policy the Communists have strengthened the hand of reaction in India, by making it possible and easy for reactionaries to rally people by raising the Communist bogey. The Communists in India have not played their cards well.

While we hear of large-scale uprisings against reigning governments in China, Malaya, Burma and other countries, the reason why there has been comparative quiet in such a vast country as India, is not far to seek. The Indian masses are definitely not prepared to dance to a violent tune, as the Communists would desire them to. They are for achieving practically the same ends through other means, "less painful, accompanied by less friction, and less waste of human substance," to quote Marx himself. *It is the push that is vulgar, not the destination.*

# · GANDHIAN ECONOMICS\* ·

BY PROF. SHRIMAN

NARAYAN AGARWAL ·

I have published books on "Gandhian Economics" or better known as "Gandhian Plan", but it would be worth while now especially when the Father of the Nation is no longer amidst us, to remind ourselves of the picture that he had of India as a free nation.

What he called Ramrajya was a definite socio-economic order. It was not merely a sentiment, nor was it a vague picture of a philosopher. He had his clear-cut ideas. Gandhi visualised a definite social, economic, political structure, an organisation for our country as a free nation.

Now, what is the substance of Gandhian economy. In the world to-day there are two main ideologies in economics. One is the capitalist ideology, the *laissez-faire*, *i.e.*, giving the freest scope for private enterprise, as in Europe, in America and in most of the European countries, although the other order is now creeping in. This order believes that the forces of demand and supply adjust themselves, and this spontaneous, natural adjustment leads to the well-being of society automatically. They think that somehow if you try to control these forces, they go wrong and injure society. Therefore they always plead for the greatest freedom, although after the first World War, these ideas of *laissez faire* have changed a great deal. No economist even believing in the capitalist order of society, would now plead for freedom. Therefore controls came in. The conception of planning had to be introduced, and within that limited field

private enterprise was to be let alone, to adjust the forces of economy.

The other way is what we might be called the Soviet way of thinking, the Soviet economy. I do not want to call it Communist, because it is better to describe it according to the name of the country where it is being tried. This Soviet economy which believes that the individual must subserve the interests of society at the dictation of the central authority; that the individual has no will of his own; that there is no scope for private enterprise as private enterprise; that the individual must follow the pattern, the detailed plan laid down by the Central Planning Authority; and that there is no scope for profit-making.

Both these systems have not proved to be satisfactory, although both the sides claim that their system is the best but we can easily imagine that the first system, the capitalist order is not satisfactory because it has led to wars, and this incentive for profit-making leads to colonisation and exploitation, not of the individual alone, but of the nations; and naturally it leads to economic conflict and war. Even now, after the second world war, already a third war has started, although it may be called the "cold war", but it is a very serious type of war that is going on, and we are to-day surrounded by it. The Soviet system is trying to expand its sphere of influence, while the Anglo-American group representing the capitalist economy, is trying to keep its own sphere of influence. See what is happening in China or Burma; see our other neighbouring countries. There is regular

\* From a lecture delivered under T. R. Venkata Rama Sastri Endowment, Madras.

tussle between these two groups representing the economic conflict. People do not fight merely for the fun of it or the love of it, or for philosophical ideologies. They fight because at the root is this economic problem.

Gandhiji fortunately suggested a middle way, a way which gives scope for private enterprise, but limits it to co-operative effort, and eliminates exploitation of man by man. On the other hand, although it eliminates exploitation, it does not lead to regimentation; it does not lead to what I might call the totalitarian control of all our resources, what is that way, the middle way? That way was put by him in very clear terms.

It is a very wrong conception that still unfortunately persists that Gandhiji was against all heavy, big industries. It is not a fact. Gandhiji visualised the existence of heavy, basic, key industries, but they must be state-owned, and state-managed. He said that the few basic industries that you must have, should be in the hands of the State, directly controlled, managed and run by it, because those are key industries and the key industries cannot be left to private hands. We know very well how the armament manufacturers create war. They are interested in war, and during war their own private interests might go against the interests of the country or at any rate against the interests of the world in general, because we are not thinking of India or any other country alone. Gandhiji always desired world peace. There is no scope for private enterprise here, but in the other very big sphere, the sphere of consumer goods industries, the goods that we consume, cloth, sugar, oil, paper and so on. These industries must be decentralised on a co-operative basis.

He always pleaded for decentralised co-operative cottage production. Now what is exactly meant by this? The idea is that all these consumer goods industries should be organised not as they did in Japan. There they were decentralised. One part was manufactured in one village, the other part in another village, the third part in a different village, and all the parts were assembled and sent out very cheap, because labour in the villages was very cheap—but there was the capitalist behind it. There were a few big families, three or four big families in Japan, and they controlled all this decentralised production. That was not the Gandhian way. Gandhiji wanted these industries to be decentralised in the villages, in the cottages, and to be organised on a co-operative basis. That is the organisation of industrial co-operatives.

Now let us try to understand the reasons why I plead for this and why Gandhiji pleaded for this decentralised cottage industry. The reasons are very simple.

All the world over all the economists say that the aim of economic planning should be the provision for full employment. Everybody agrees. If we look at the figures we find that even after partition our population is about 35 crores. In the large-scale establishments in India to-day the number of people employed as labourers is not more than 25 lakhs. That was the maximum even before partition, it is now much less than 25 millions. The Bombay planners wanted to expand these large-scale industries four, five or six times, but we know it is impossible to get capital goods from outside. The industrialists have realised it, the Government have realised it.

We cannot utilise our sterling balances because nobody is willing to send machines. Even if they are in a position they will not send, unless they are able to manufacture better ones. Then they will send these third class machines with which you cannot compete with them. These are hard facts. But suppose you get all the machinery and expand these large-scale establishments. Then you will be able to employ a crore or a crore and a half people. What will happen to so many other crores that are left. Now all the land that we have got can employ, say, at the most 50 per cent of our population. At present it is about 18 percent. If we distribute land on a more economic basis, it can employ perhaps 40 per cent. or at the most 50 per cent, i.e. about 17 crores of people, but even these people will have to be provided with subsidiary industries because they are partially unemployed. They are fully unemployed, but they are partially unemployed for three, four, and in some parts, six months in the year. To these people you can give only small scale industries. You cannot ask them to emigrate to the towns for a few months and come back to the villages. The factories will also not like this. They want permanent labour on which they can depend. So the only alternative before us is to think of what may be called "fields, factories and workshops". Adjacent to these fields if we have small workshops the labourers and peasants can manufacture cottage products whenever they have time. That is the only possible solution. These people have to be supplied with cottage industries on a very large scale. Then what about the rest? Out of the rest at the highest a crore or

a crore and half may be absorbed if you get all the capital equipment. Then our domestic service, trade and commerce can absorb 5 or 10 per cent. at the most. Then we have ten crores more people who have to be absorbed. This is very simple, but the wonder is we try to evade these facts. Gandhiji gave us the final solution, it was not for him to work out the details. He went to the roots of the problem and found the solutions almost intuitively. He was as we know the least read among the literates. He did not read any book on economics except "Unto the Last" which cannot be called economic because Ruskin was a sentimental thinker. But his conclusions are absolutely correct and open to reason. Therefore I say Gandhiji clearly saw that these 17 crores of people had to be employed.

To-day villagers have to be supplied with subsidiary industries on a very wide scale. That can be done only by spreading industrial co-operatives. That is about the problem of employment which is the goal of all economists.

Then take the other question, the question of strikes, this conflict between labour and capital. In the very nature of things, there is a conflict in this capitalist order, an order of what we may call *laissez faire*, between the interests of the capitalists and the interests of labour. There is an inherent conflict. Therefore no amount of arbitrating will find a solution between the two. What is the solution then? The solution suggested by Marx was that labourers should become the owners of industries, but that is not possible because large-scale establishments require a huge capital now.

Gandhiji said, that the workers themselves must become the owners of industries. That can be done only by organising these industrial co-operatives, so that the workers themselves are the owners, co-partners on a co-operative basis. They can organise them in villages. There is not the bottleneck of transport. They produce all they need so that production becomes almost as Gandhiji said, simultaneous with distribution. The problem of distribution also disappears. The co-operative community produces what it requires and produces it cheaply. They have no capitalists among them. All the profit goes to them for their own betterment. Thus labour and capital conflict can be solved. I have no doubt only on this basis that we organise industrial co-operatives of the consumer goods industries on a very large scale, not only in this country, but throughout the world. People say it is a very long term programme. It is so, but fortunately for India the capitalist order has not made much headway like America or other European countries. It is not a serious problem in India. It is not very difficult to begin organising ourselves in the way Gandhiji suggested. China did it, we can do it more easily. If we understand the whole picture, if we have faith that this is the kind of economy that we want to have, then the quickest way is to go to that point in a straight way. If we are not satisfied, if we are still in this whirlpool of ideologies, we will never get to it.

Third, that is the question of defence in war. I feel, and I feel very seriously, that perhaps on account of this the West may be compelled to take to industrial

co-operatives or what we may call Gandhian economy earlier than the East or India, because their problem is the immediate problem. They are already in the third war. They do not know how to preserve their large scale establishments, because ordinary bomb has disappeared and now it is the atom bomb. We already hear about the super-atom bomb, and then God knows what else, the cosmic rays of Russia and the latter scientific developments. What will happen to these big industries? In England, as we know, they have already passed the Distribution of Industries Act. They do not talk of industrial co-operatives. They perhaps do not realise what Gandhiji meant by it. Either they call it dispersal of industries or distribution of industries. They feel it as an immediate necessity. Hitler planned very wisely, but he forgot that once the big industries are bombarded he will be nowhere. He is nowhere. This decentralisation of industries on a very wide scale has now become a necessity for the militants from the point of view of strategy of war, the latest war.

These three things, unemployment, capital-labour conflict and national defence, at least should convince us that there is no other way. We have to decentralise, and decentralise on a co-operative basis. In this co-operative basis there will be scope for private enterprise. The State will not dictate from day to day that you must produce this or that. There will be no scope for exploitation either. Whatever profits accrue will go to the community as a whole. Therefore the way suggested by Gandhiji in the form of Cottage or other village industries was not merely a fad, was not

merely a political weapon, was not merely a sentiment of a thinker who was called mediaeval by our economists.

The ideology that Gandhiji gave is not only suitable to this country, but the whole world, and perhaps, the West may adopt what we call Gandhism much earlier than we, because we are yet in the elementary stage. We cannot call ourselves highly industrialised. We are very backward industrially, but our economists say the whole world is going in a different fashion and so we should.

It is also wrong to think that Gandhiji was against machines. Gandhiji wanted American engineers. When Louis Fisher came and asked for his message to America, he said, "My message is, please send your best engineers to help us not by big machines, but to help the lakhs of villages in India to have small tools and small

machines which they could use in villages and which they could organise on a co-operative basis in their cottages." He was also not against power. He wanted power to be owned by the village communities. He wanted it to be decentralised. Science has done many things which we never thought of. If the scientists can give us small power houses, if power can be decentralised so that the villages can have effective use of power, Gandhiji was not against it.

If we believe in Gandhiji, then we should know that he stood for an order of society which can give not only to India, but to the whole world, a new direction which will be neither Communism, nor Capitalism, but a golden mean between, a new social order, a new economic order which might show a better way to the world.

## H. E. SRI PRAKASA-GOVERNOR OF ASSAM

BY DR. M. HAFIZ SYED, Ph.D., D.Litt.,

*University of Allahabad.*

### EDUCATION AND EARLY CAREER

**S**HRI Sri Prakasa was born on 3rd August 1890, in Benares. He was educated in the Central Hindu Collegiate School and graduated from the Central Hindu College in 1911. The same year he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took B.A. Tripos with high honours in History and Law and qualified himself as a Barrister-at-Law from Gray's Inn, London. He returned from Europe in 1914 and practised in the Benares Civil Court for a few months. Not finding law a congenial profession, he gave it up and joined the Central Hindu College as a Professor of History where he

worked zealously for three years. It was in these days that he came in contact with Mahatma Gandhi whose life and teachings captivated his heart to such an extent that he gave up his service in the Central Hindu College and joined the Congress Movement. He worked as Assistant Editor of the *Leader* (Allahabad), under the guidance of that great journalist Shri C. Y. Chintamani for three years, and then for a year as Assistant Editor of Pandit Motilal Nehru's *Independent*. It was through his good offices that Shri Shiva Prasad Guptaji agreed to endow a big fund for founding an institution on broad cultural and independent lines completely

free from official domination. Thus the Kashi Vidyapith institution came into being which he served devotedly for a number of years as its first Principal from 1921 upto the time when political circumstances of his country forced him to court imprisonment.

#### AS A ZAMINDAR AND BUSINESSMAN

He has inherited a small zamindari in Jaunpur district which he had to manage when his venerable father handed it over to him at the time of his retirement from active life. This zamindari of his is still looked upon as a model for other landlords to copy because he endeared himself to his ryots and served them unselfishly in so many ways.

The Directors of the Benares Bank when its affairs were in a shaky condition, unanimously elected him as the Chairman of its Board. This appointment gave him an opportunity of studying and understanding various monetary problems.

He had also the distinction of serving the Indian National Congress as its General Secretary for a year and the President of the U. P. Provincial Congress Committee.

#### EARLY WRITINGS

He is a well-known writer both in English and Hindi. He wrote a volume on "Annie Besant as woman and as leader" which was published in 1941 and won the appreciation of literary critics for his extraordinarily lucid, forcible and chaste style. The book has been declared by British as well as Indian reviewers as the best that has ever been written about that venerable lady who is emphatically one of the foremost makers of New India. He has also a few books in Hindi to his credit. His *Grihastha Gita* has been pres-

cribed as a course-book for Hindi Schools of the U. P.

#### INFLUENCE OF DR BHAGAVAN DAS

We all know in these provinces that Shri Sri Prakasa had the inestimable privilege of high parentage and wise upbringing under the paternal care of Dr. Bhagavan Das, an eminent philosopher and a Sanskrit scholar of international reputation who took every possible care to look after the early training under his own care. Dr. Bhagavan Das' life-long friend and colleague Dr. Annie Besant took a good deal of interest in Sri Prakasa's education at every stage of his life at the old Central Hindu College and later on in Cambridge. Among his Headmasters and Principals were distinguished educationists like Dr. Iqbal Narain Gurur and Dr. George S. Arundale whom he affectionately remembers with respect and gratitude. His was not mere book learning. He distinguished himself amongst his school and college fellows of his days for the active interest he took in the social and political life of his college and country in those days. He was the leader of the Moot Parliament and developed the art of public speaking both in Hindi and English to a great extent, in the Central Hindu College.

#### QUALIFICATIONS FOR GOVERNORSHIP

As a leading Congress worker and a foremost citizen of Benares, Shri Sri Prakasa is very well-known in different parts of India. The Indian people now know that the choice of the Central Government through the Prime Minister of India, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, fell on the right person when he was appointed High Commissioner in Pakistan, Karachi. His

distinguished success there has proved that he is the right type of man to govern a Province like Assam which in many ways has complicated problems to solve and needs the guiding hand of political wisdom, ripe experience, and administrative skill to administer its affairs judiciously.

One who is called upon to govern a Province consisting of different types of people, high and low, rich and poor, educated and ignorant, must have had direct contact with them in one capacity or the other. Besides, he must be a man of wide sympathies, broad-outlook, and free from all biases, religious, social and racial, to be able to understand them and direct them to settle their affairs amicably amongst themselves.

Since the advent of freedom and the establishment of our own Government under the leadership of the Congress Movement, our duties and responsibilities have considerably increased and we have been facing numerous weighty problems which we have been trying to solve. Naturally the Governor of a Province should have direct experience of the working of the Congress Movement, must be a gentleman of sterling character, upright, and above all, of wide sympathies. He must have full faith in the welfare of the Common Man.

The newly-appointed Governor of Assam, possesses all these qualities and much more by virtue of his upbringing, sound system of education at home and abroad, and experience of active service in various capacities.

On his return from Cambridge and London where he qualified himself as a

Barrister-at-Law he did not practise law for a long time but instead plunged himself in the active service of his own town and Province to such an extent that he made himself useful to his own people in various ways. He also edited the daily *Aj* of Benares and wrote numerous articles on the burning topics of the day. He came in contact with some of the foremost Congress men in working seriously for the freedom of his country. The great thing about him as a Congressman has been complete freedom from any kind of religious or racial bias.

#### TRUSTED FRIEND OF HINDUS AND MUSLIMS

In the ancient city of Benares his treatment of all the communities has always been so generous and large-hearted that he has enjoyed the complete confidence of the two chief communities, Hindus and Muslims alike. He gave equal time and attention to the members of both the communities, sympathised with their sufferings and did his best to extend his helping hand to them; and was unanimously chosen as Chairman of the Municipal Board.

Shri Sri Prakasa is one of those very few leaders in our country who not only preaches but lives a truly democratic life. To him rich and poor are alike. He makes no distinction between high and low and receives all with open arms, treats them with utmost courtesy and consideration and attends to their grievances most sympathetically. In these days of suspicion and mutual communal distrust, he holds a unique position and enjoys the confidence of the members of various communities in his own province and elsewhere.

# STATE AID TO SMALL BUSINESS

BY MR. CHARLES SAWYER,  
*Secretary of Commerce U. S. A.*

The way that small business in the United States is helped by Government to stand on its own legs is not without interest to Indian businessmen. At the initial stage small business, which generally lacks sufficient capital and expert guidance, needs help from Government for its sustenance and stability. Helped by Government in various ways it becomes self supporting and capable of improvement. How the Government helps to improve small business in the United States is told in this article released by the U. S. Information Service.—[Ed. I. R.]

**A** Short time ago, two young Americans who had been combat pilots during World War II wrote to the United States Department of Commerce. They wanted to start a business of their own, building plywood boats. They were given information and management advice by the Commerce Department's Office of Technical Services. To-day the two former combat pilots employ 150 workers and have orders for 500 boats.

A small saw-mill operator wanted information as to how he might use the waste products of his mill. The Office of Technical Services suggested several methods with which he now is experimenting. Another small firm wanted to convert its wartime ordinance plant to wool processing. The Office of Technical Services showed the management of the firm how to do it. Today that firm employs 140 workers and is expanding its plant to accommodate 500 workers.

The United States Weather Bureau, also part of the Department of Commerce, was approached recently by a food company that could not decide what cooling and heating equipment it needed for storing potatoes. The Bureau pointed out that, where the air humidity is low, exhaust fans should be sufficient to keep the temperature

at a proper level. The company saved the entire cost of cooling and heating equipment.

These are only a few examples of information provided by the United States Department of Commerce to small business enterprises. In most instances such information means savings for the small businessman. The Government's motive for providing the service is the belief that America's prosperity rests mainly in the prosperity of the millions of small concerns that make up the bulk of all business in the United States.

## What is "small business?"

It is difficult, if not impossible, to find a definition that is satisfactory and final. Some define small business as a concern employing less than 250 persons; some as one employing less than 500. Its essential characteristics, however, are its lack of connection with other business, its localized activities and markets, and the fact that it is managed by its owners. On these criteria, 98 percent of all business concerns in the United States are properly classified as small business.

At the beginning of 1949, there were 3,900,000 such small business enterprises in the United States. Of these, about 1,400,000 had been started since the end of the war, 99 percent of them having fewer than 50 employees. A large number of

new businesses were organized very rapidly in the two years immediately after the war. In 1948, with the return to more nearly normal peacetime conditions, the rate of increase dropped, but the net actual addition of new businesses in the United States last year was about 100,000.

Income data show that small businesses have been experiencing good results, notwithstanding their many operating problems, such as the difficulty of getting sufficient supplies. In 1948 the aggregate income of incorporated business and professional enterprises in the United States amounted to over \$25,000,000,000. This is a gain of 270 per cent over 1939 and may be compared with the rise of about 210 percent in income for the United States as a whole in both instances, of course, price increases account for part of the rise.

Of the many small enterprises started since the war, some have not succeeded. Several surveys conducted on the causes of failure led to the conclusion that the principal reason was management. This stems partly from inexperience and partly from plain lack of managerial ability. Where no business acumen exists, neither the Department of Commerce nor anyone else can help. But where experience only is lacking, the Commerce Department has tried to aid in the past, is trying to aid to-day and intends to aid in the future.

A small businessman in America is faced with a situation quite different from that of the big, financially strong concern. The small businessman must size up his own market. He must solve his own book-keeping problems. He must arrange for his own advertising. He must carry on

alone many other tasks for which big concerns have specialized departments.

Sometimes the small businessman gets help from his trade association, from his banker or from a local business school or college. The Department of Commerce provides management aids to these firms that cannot afford to hire market analysis, accounts, production specialists and other expert help that make up the staffs of large corporations. It provides such management aid either directly or through local organizations, such as banks, trade associations and business schools, which in turn make the information available to the local businessman. Where information is given directly, it is being done through 42 so-called field offices of the Commerce Department, distributed over the whole United States and equipped with expert staffs and informational material.

In addition to providing management aid, the Department also supplies economic information and scientific and technical advice through its Office of Technical Services, the Weather Bureau, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Bureau of Standards and other similar offices.

The Bureau of Standards, to cite an example of scientific aid, recently developed an unusual magnetic clutch. It is based on the principle that a liquid, when filled with fine particles of iron or other magnetic metal, can be made to act like a solid mass by introducing a magnetic charge. This clutch has been perfected and made available to business. More than 2,500 businessmen have come to the Bureau of Standards in Washington, D.C., to study the clutch and its possible usefulness to them.

The Commerce Department endeavours to aid small business in the bidding for Government contracts. Many small firms do not have the contacts that enable them to know when bids are being taken. Through its field offices, the Commerce Department notifies businessmen throughout the United States about Government procurement. The field offices tell the businessman to contact the nearest Government procurement office handling the particular product on which he wants to bid. Where specifications

become an unnecessary restraint on bidding, the Department endeavours to work out a change that better suits small business bidders.

By giving such attention to small business—by supplying technical, managerial and other advice, and by attempting to create a favourable economic climate in general—the United States Government sees to it that a fair share of the national income goes to the millions of independent, enterprising businessmen who constitute one of the strongest bulwarks of democracy.

## The Andamans : The Once Dreaded Island

BY MR. N. K. HALDAR

FOR years the name *Kala Pani* has struck terror in our hearts. For a convict transported to the Andamans was regarded as dead. Interviews were disallowed, communication with relatives cut off. No out-sider was allowed to embark on a steamer bound for the dreaded islands without a landing permit signed and issued by the Chief Commissioner. The number of free people (excluding Government servants, British and Indian troops, military police, etc.) did not exceed a score. Leakage of news from the settlement was dealt with severely. So people abroad heard little or nothing about this abode of convicts and horrible tales were current. Mere mention of it made people shudder. Such was the *Kala Pani* of former days.

The Andamans before 1921 will not stand comparison with the Andamans of to-day. Conditions have vastly improved. Convicts have for some time now been permitted a fuller life—to run their own farms, to live in separate homes with their

families. The islands to-day have hundreds of free farmers who first disembarked there from prison ships. Their sentences served, they preferred to stay on, rather than return to India, for agriculture they found to be profitable, and the life there peaceful in beautiful tropical surroundings. Startling proof of this preference was given when, years ago, some officious politicians succeeded in inducing the Government of India to direct that four exiles from this "Devil's Island," where they were "rotting" should be repatriated. That is the stock term. The ordinary criminal serves his sentence; the so-called "political prisoner" invariably "rots in jail." When this surprising order was communicated to their leader, he replied at once: "Tell the Government that if we are repatriated we will sue the Secretary of State for Rs. 30,000." Small wonder that he should have thus spurned a seemingly attractive offer. The truth was that he had become a prosperous husbandman, ran a lucrative plantation and owned a large herd of cattle.

The Andamans was known to traders from the earliest times. It first appears in the Arab notices of the century. The name, Andamans, is of hoary descent, probably deriving from Handuman, the Malaya variant for Hanuman. The islands were thus presumably the abode of the monkey tribes of Hindu mythology or of the savage aboriginal antagonists of the Aryan immigrants into India.

From a remarkable collection of early Arab records on India and China in the middle of the 8th century, which represents the impressions of mariners of those days, we find that "the inhabitants of these islands eat men alive. They are black, with woolly hair and in their eyes and countenances there is something quite frightful.....They go naked and have no boots. If they had, they would devour all who passed near them. Sometimes ships that are windbound and have exhausted their provision of water, touch here and apply to the natives for it; in some cases the crews fall into the hands of the latter and most of them are massacred."

The age-old charge of cannibalism against the islanders has been very persistent but is denied by the islanders themselves and is now, and probably has always been, untrue. In any case, for the past forty years at least they have shown a greater degree of friendliness towards ship-wrecked crews except perhaps in the south and west of Little Andamans and North Sentinel Island.

The Andamans comprise a group of 204 islands lying in the Bay of Bengal about 590 miles from the western coast of Burma. The farther and south-eastern end of the Great Nicobar is about 150 miles from the Sumatra Island facing the Straits Settlement.

Thus the Andamans are a natural gateway to India from the East.

The archipelago was India's penal settlement from 1358 to 1945 when the Government of India decided to close the present colony and planned the development of the islands' resources. In the years immediately before the war the settlement was being gradually discontinued, the islands being left to develop unfettered. The Government of India's recent announcement of its decision to encourage large-scale colonization not only of agriculturists but also of the educated middle-class from the maintained will be popular.

Quite apart from strategic considerations, the archipelago is important economically also. It has immense undeveloped potential resources. The Andaman forests present a luxuriantly green vista of trees and foliage. The banian and the almond, the ebony, the *sundri* and the populat, the redwood and the iron-tree which turns the edge of the axe, are all found in abundant profusion and in beautiful confusion with cotton trees, screw pines and arborescent euphorbias. Further, in addition to lovely bamboos, the mangrove is of prolific growth, inhabiting the low-lying pestilential swamps between the hills and giving shelter to the loveliest orchids imaginable. On the flats in certain islands, paddy, sugar-cane, turmeric and tobacco flourish if expertly cultivated. The "Andaman teak", delicately red as rosewood, is familiar to us as a fine specimen of timber in popular demand for furniture, doors and windows, reapers for rafters and so forth.

After the Malabar Moplah rebellion of the 'twenties the question of colonizing the islands was considered and a deputation

was sent there from Madras, but problems then present in regard to health, living conditions, transport and supply led the deputation to advise against the project. But the metamorphosis which has subsequently taken place provides strikingly encouraging contrast to the conditions which obtained in the settlement at the time of the Jail Committee's visit in 1919-1920.

Since 1921, hundreds of families have emigrated from India and Burma and have contributed much towards the great reformation and prosperity. Elaborate measures are afoot to eradicate malaria; jungles have been cut, swamps and creeks reclaimed by dredgers; malaria has vanished as an epidemic and the death-roll shows a steady decrease. Those who have hitherto conjured up visions of extreme torridity in these regions will learn with pleased surprise that in the Ross Islands, on which are Government House, the barracks, a hospital, a club and other amenities, the temperature seldom rises above 94 degrees in the summer, without a refreshing shower. The sea breeze at night is equally refreshing. Humidity is not worse than in Bombay or Calcutta at its worst. The annual rainfall averages about 120 inches but the downpours are not always torrential. Perennial water streams maintain a continuous supply of water for irrigation in the dry season.

Living conditions on the mainland vary little except in some villages verging on the sea. There are dispensaries and hospitals at almost every important point. Sea-bathing and fishing are a principal attraction today. The scenery is everywhere beautiful and varied. The coral beds of

the more secluded islets are conspicuous for their exquisite assortment of colours. The harbours have been compared to Killarney, and no doubt they recall the British Lakes. One view of Port Blair Harbour is strongly reminiscent of Derwentwater as seen from the Keswick end.

If, within living memory, barren, desolate countries like Abyssinia could be made habitable, if Sumatra, Java, Borneo and many other islands scattered between the Equator and Tropics of Cancer and Capricorn could be made similarly habitable, so, emphatically, can the Andamans. With the progress of civil aviation communications have been vastly speeded up and settlers need no longer feel exiled.

The Government's new settlement scheme merits close study and sturdy co-operation for, under this new dispensation, the "Devil's Island" of the past may well blossom into a miniature "Hawaii" in the Bay of Bengal.

## TO DEATH

Tarry a while, O Death, I cannot die  
While yet my sweet life burgeons with  
its spring;  
Fair is my youth, and rich the echoing  
boughs  
Where dhadikulas sing.

Tarry a while, O Death, I cannot die  
With all my blossoming hopes  
unharvested,  
My joys ungarnered, all my songs unsung,  
And all my tears unshed.

Tarry a while, till I am satisfied  
Of love and grief, of earth and altering  
sky;  
Till all my human hungers are fulfilled,  
O Death, I cannot die!

—*Sarojini Devi*

# PROTECTION AGAINST TUBERCULOSIS

## B. C. G. VACCINATION

Doubts have been expressed in the press as to the efficacy of the B. C. G. Vaccination and demands made for further research and experiments by competent bodies before Government embarked on Mass Vaccination. The United Nations International Tuberculosis Campaign in India has issued a pamphlet on B. C. G. Vaccination wherein it claims that the Tuberculin tests and the vaccination are perfectly harmless. The pamphlet observes :

**T**UBERCULOSIS is a contagious disease which is very serious in its consequences. The infection is almost universal in any civilized country, practically everyone living in cities like Madras being infected before the age of twenty. Such natural infection generally increases our resistance against tuberculosis, though not equally in all cases. So the majority of the infected will overcome the infection, but in a considerable number of cases, the infected person will develop real tuberculosis disease. Any person infected by T. B. will become a positive reactor to tuberculin. Therefore, the tuberculin tests can make out whether a person has had such a previous infection or not. It could not beforehand be told whether a person by the natural infection will get a real disease or only an immunity against tuberculosis. But we know that the infection will have a fatal effect in great many cases.

By the B. C. G. Vaccination we are able to create the same kind of immunity, but in a perfectly harmless way and without the risk that some might get tuberculous disease by it. For B. C. G. vaccination it will be necessary to exclude all who already have been infected and in that way have got an immunity. This can be done by the tuberculin tests. Tuberculin is a protein extracted from killed tubercle-bacilli. This extract is called P.P.D. (Purified Protein Derivative).

Three days after the injection of tuberculin, the reaction will be read. A little swelling

like a mosquito bite where the inoculation has been given indicates a positive reaction. If there is nothing to be seen it is a negative reaction.

If a person reacts negatively to one tuberculin unit then he will be tested with the second test which contains 10 units in one tenth of a c.c. If after three days, the person reacts negatively to 10 t. u. then he will be tested with the third test which contains 100 t. u. in one-tenth of a c.c. If the person still reacts negatively even to the 100 tuberculin unit it shows that he has no immunity against tuberculosis and he therefore needs the protection the vaccination can give him. People reacting positively do not require B. C. G.

The vaccination will be done with B.C.G. vaccine of which one-tenth of a c.c. will be injected into the skin of the left upper arm. Three weeks later there will appear, where the inoculation has been given, a painless nodule of the size of a pin-head. After six weeks it will have grown to the size of a pea and very rarely ulcerate (open up). After ten weeks the nodule or the little ulcer will have healed up spontaneously. There will only remain a scar 2-3 mm. in diameter. The vaccinated person now has the protection without having run the risk of getting tuberculous disease. During these weeks he will not be more susceptible to tuberculosis than previously.

The tuberculin tests and the vaccinations are perfectly harmless. There are no reactions whatever following the injections, no fever or the like, and you can attend the school, partake in sports, bathe, etc.

The vaccine is produced by an expert in the special B.C.G. vaccine laboratory at the King Institute, Madras, under the control of the World Health Organisation. It consists of non-virulent bovine tubercle-bacilli, the strain which was discovered by Professors Calmette and Guerin, in Paris in 1908. Therefore it is called Bacilli Calmette Guerin—B.C.G.

By 1947, 10,000,000 persons have been vaccinated with B.C.G. throughout the whole world. In the past 15 years, in Scandinavia alone 1,000,000 children have been vaccinated.

From all parts of the world, Tuberculosis Specialists and Bacteriologists, who have been working in this vaccination agree that

it is completely harmless. Until now, not a single case has been reported where a person has got tuberculosis as a result of B.C.G. vaccination. The last 15 years' scientific work with B.C.G. has proved that the mortality rate in tuberculosis in all communities can be reduced by at least 4/5 by B.C.G. Vaccination.

In India 500,000 persons die every year of tuberculosis. This big toll could be reduced to at least 100,000 per year by B.C.G. Vaccination.

An example of the effectiveness of B.C.G. vaccination is provided by Copenhagen where in 1943, there was a tuberculosis epidemic in a College caused by an unsuspected open case of tuberculosis in a teacher. Of 130 naturally positive students four got tuberculosis, of 133 B.C.G. vaccinated students two got tuberculosis, but of 105 not vaccinated, negative reactors 37 got tuberculosis.

## THE ECLIPSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL

BY NISSIM EZEKIEL

TO those who think and attempt to be honest in their thought, there is no solace in the efforts of humanity's representatives to maintain peace. Frankly, humanity no longer trusts its representatives, and the periodic change in their personnel which is provided for, in some countries, by the machinery of political democracy, does not undermine this scepticism. Our anxiety is fundamental and deep-rooted. The failures of our time, in politics and in other spheres are complete and decisive. Even those who would reassure us do not commit themselves beyond the unconsciously ironic

statement that there will be no war *for the present*. Even a modicum of faith is made impossible for the individual by the organised and apparently invincible indifference of institutions and authority to his fate or his inclinations. In the tragedies of the past, the individual was involved: he felt his responsibility: he studied his choices: he could act easily and with hope. In the tragedy of the twentieth century, the individual is eclipsed.

This has been attributed to a variety of causes. The clear shapes of innumerable prevalent ideologies provide persuasive,

if partial, analysis. More independent thought has probed into the essential character of industrial society. The unavoidable drawbacks of civilisation have been condemned or championed. Considerable polemic has been expended upon the consequences of religious retreats and a bewildering variety of panaceas are ceaselessly offered to the unhappy individual, a product and victim of his time.

Products of our time we cannot help being, but must we invariably be its victims also? Is there no starting-point for individual effort that will not be engulfed finally in the meshes of international organisation? Is it necessary to wait till a sufficient number of people (and how many will be sufficient?) have absorbed the difficult fruit of modern knowledge? Is there no sphere in which heroism can be practised by the common man without impossible demands being made upon his unequipped intellect?

There is such a starting point, there is such a potential sphere of human effort where the individual can act immediately and fruitfully. It is not necessary to sign a petition or join a procession, organise a new group or merge into a mass movement, though all these may be done according to one's lights. The starting point is moral. The effort is towards wholeness.

Anticipating the reader's predilections and commitments, it may be confessed that this may seem too abstract or too simple. It may be found unoriginal. At best it may be denied awareness of the social sciences and the complexity of modern society, its evolution and its present condition. Let the reader give me another chance.

It is not necessary to polarise approaches to the individual between Anarchism and Marxism. The common man does not understand either. He cannot. To simplify beyond a certain point—which is soon reached—in order to popularise ideas, is to vulgarise. No system of thought which claims the allegiance of man can ever hope to be grasped in its many ramifications by all and sundry. This is the source of the ideologists' weakness. To give up that hope, on the other hand, is to degenerate into cynicism and opportunism where the masses are concerned. These are the blatant features of both communism and fascism. The dilemma is complete when we realise that movements with sounder values and more upright political practice cannot be heard above the din of party strife. What can the individual do?

It is because the revelation of the obscured obvious tends to startle, that some readers may be surprised at my thesis: that the individual can escape most dangers of the modern world simply by being an individual. This is actually not as simple as it sounds. For it would require the assertion of qualities that constitute the central values of culture. They will prove in practice, as they have in the past, a thousand times less vulnerable to the assaults of insidious forces than the most thorough-going education, which is overwhelmingly cerebral.

This is so, because, in the final analysis, it is character that can defeat evil and not merely the wider dissemination of modern knowledge. That is not to discount the latter but to put it in its proper place *vis-à-vis* the common man. Tolerance,

gentleness, co-operation and honesty are not after all a necessary outcome of intellectualism. They are solid virtues which are desperately needed even in the smallest affairs of life. The individual can act on big principles, even if he cannot act in a big way. He can be persuaded to do so by example and precept; but he will be repelled if he is told that nothing less than a strenuous programme of higher studies can fit him for the demands and responsibilities of present-day civic life.

The role of the intellectual is to create, brick by brick, the tradition which will inspire such conduct. Unfortunately, he generally remains anchored to the belief which isolates him from society, that only intellectuals can remake the world. It is a belief which the modern intellectual is peculiarly prone, causing his thought to soar uncontrollably into the envisaged future of his dreams. Cut off from the realities of human nature and social forces, he can only rage against the world which has left him lonely. Heroic are those who preserve their sanity even in this typical condition but it is even more heroic to return to earth and begin again the task of understanding the over-all human situation.

In parenthesis, it may be added, that the first step in this return is to conquer the incapacity to visualise a human being as anything but an intellectual. It is a richer combination of developments than the merely mental, which makes certain people the salt of the earth, wherever they may be, whatsoever, their condition and however circumscribed their intellectual attainments. If "they live unto themselves because the individual is ineffective in the crisis of our

time, then indeed is all lost. But it need not be so. Though not altogether like a catalytic agent, yet acting in a reasonably comparable way the individual *can* produce miraculous chemical effects on the lurid mixtures of the modern age.

To emphasise the moral endeavour that is possible in limited spheres of human relationship is not necessarily to by-pass the baffling problems of modern social life. But one must begin somewhere. One must at least do what is immediately possible. To squirm before the overwhelming confusion of our times is not heroism; one cannot help it. On the other hand, integral living on however small a scale lends a moral authority to the individual which is heavily at a discount all over the world. That is why, intellectual analysis, however skilful, makes so little impression on the people. Our salvation, it may safely be predicted, will not come from the Encyclopaedia Britannica but from words as simple and direct as those of the Sermon on the Mount.

"To do the useful thing, to say the courageous thing, to contemplate the beautiful thing; that is enough for one man's life." (T. S. Eliot). This is not a formula for solving political problems. But even political problems are solved by human beings and not the abstractions called "social forces". The quality of the individual life remains, therefore, a matter of crucial importance. The individual is eclipsed, at least partially because he deserves to be. If he will accept the responsibility instead of throwing all the blame on "forces" and "institutions", he still stands a reasonable chance of asserting himself.

# POVERTY AND CHARITY ORGANIZATION

BY URMILA SRIVASTAVA

THE concept of poverty is relative. Numerous definitions have been formulated with a view to connote the essence of this concept but they are too vague. Either they mean too much or too little. Nevertheless, it is a condition of maladjustment as reflected in the individual's mind from the point of view of his standard of living. Hence the difficulty of arriving at a positive definition of poverty. We, however, generally regard people as poor when they lack the common necessities of life such as proper food, adequate clothing and shelter. Any increase in medical or educational expenses will be possible only at the cost of making inroads upon the basic requirements of life. A much better way, then, to define poverty would be to discuss the various types of poverty.

Classical investigations into poverty have been conducted by Booth in London and Rowntree in York. They have respectively estimated that 30% of the people in London and 27.84% of the population of York below the servant-keeping class were in poverty. The causes responsible for the mass of misery, oppression, slavery, degradation and exploitation—all associated with poverty—are of a varying nature including both subjective and objective. The objective causes include insufficient natural resources, unhealthy climatic conditions, defective governmental machinery, bad industrial organisation characterised by unemployment, irregularity of employment and seasonal work, immobility of labour and unhealthy and dangerous occupations; fluctuations in industry and a host of other social, economic

and physical causes. On the other hand, the subjective causes of poverty are such as the frail and fragile physique of the individual, lack of foresight and wisdom, intemperance and immorality, old age and the breakdown of the family institution. All these furnish the workshop of the devil of poverty.

With these preliminary remarks we discuss the different types of poverty. The dependent class in the modern social organisation is distinguished by four different types of persons. There are the normally dependents including the children and the aged. This is the natural cycle of poverty starting from the young ones and ending with the aged. What provision are we going to make for this class? That is the crux of the problems. Shall we open charitable institutions to accommodate the old people? Perhaps self-respect will not bear it out. Persons who earned their livelihood in their younger days with the sweat of their brow should suffer public humiliation in their older days by attaching themselves to poor-houses, simply because they could not spare a handsome amount of money for the rainy day. The State should pass Old Age Pension Acts to relieve the financial bondage of this class. About the children whose parents are alive steps should be taken to rehabilitate their own home and render them financial assistance. But those children whose parents could not survive the ordeal of life's journey and left them to the care and mercy of the society, should be adopted by responsible families. For them the system of 'placing at home' is

best. In Russia, of course the children are the first charge upon the State. Further, the State should also look after the prisoners' children. As for the workmen's children, in Russia, they are educated at the expense of the State, but elsewhere, specially in civilised countries, they are being provided with education and other facilities by the State institutions.

Then there are the physically dependent due to insanity, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, sickness etc. Sickness Insurance Scheme is the best remedy for them. Then again there are many who meet with accidents. For them the Workmen's Compensation is the best remedy. So far as the deaf, dumb and blind are concerned, now-days, the State responsibility is being aroused.

Apart from these physically dependent there are the moral delinquents. Out of this class, some are unemployable. It is the duty of the State to segregate them and to support them by means of State agencies.

Then a large number of unemployed persons are a class by themselves. They are employable. Various suggestions have been made for them from time to time. To put them briefly, there should be Unemployment Insurance Schemes, supplementary or alternative occupations i.e., a shift from agriculture to industry, Public Works Policy of the Government, Colonisation, State-aid to industries and finally, the establishment of Employment Exchanges. How many remain unemployed because of their ignorance about the scope of employment. Therefore, it is the duty of the Government to maintain an Employment

Roll and make it binding on all employing authorities to recruit their labour only through the Government Employment Exchanges. Be it noted, that these measures are not a complete panacea. Nevertheless, they will go a long way in eradicating the horrors of poverty.

In our discussion of these types of poverty, inasmuch as they are hereditary types, eugenics can extend its assistance to a fairly large extent. It can decide whether to segregate people or not. The general tendency, to-day, is to segregate them for the simple reason that if they are not segregated, the birth-rate would shoot up and the quality of population ultimately deteriorate as it must come to consist of an increasing proportion of the feeble-minded.

There is yet another suggestion, *viz.*, sterilisation. There are, however, strong prejudices against it. It is supposed to be inhuman. Then, one cannot be quite sure if its application will bear fruitful results. It is not a very practical proposition. We may, therefore, recommend a policy of segregation as against any other measures.

Such is the complexity of the problem of poverty. It is interwoven with numerous difficulties. Its textures are thorny and, therefore, repulsive. Human ingenuity is deterred, more so, when one comes to realise the limitations of any charity organisation. 'Charity organisation', wrote an American Sociologist, 'is not a panacea or cure-all'. Shall we then sit quiet and court the policy of 'masterly inactivity'? The answer must needs be in the negative. For 'poverty is both a symptom or result

and also a cause of nearly every other kind of human ill'. So long as the social impulses of individuals are alive, charity organisations must take place; no matter how great is the magnitude or complexity of this social work.

To start with the principles of charity organisation it should be guided by a particular knowledge of cases. Mere almsgiving when it does no positive harm is usually a poor substitute for the higher charity of personal service and care. Co-operation of some experienced people is necessary to assist the distressed to form a practical plan for permanent support and for restoration to economic emancipation. For it should be crystal clear that there is more need of justice than charity.

The Elberfeld system is the ideal form of charity organisation. Under this system a thorough examination of each individual dependent is made. A careful guardianship during the period of dependence is continued and persistent efforts are made to help him regain economic emancipation. These essential requirements are furnished by a corporate body of well-qualified and experienced persons who are men of stern character but sympathetic disposition. Meetings are held to chalk out programmes. The decisions are based on a harmonious blending of various interests. The services of the professional social workers are requisitioned. The workers are saturated with lofty ideals of humanitarianism. The city is divided into sections and districts where unpaid workers, inspired by deep sense of service and care are appointed to supervise hospitals and other charitable institutions. Central records are maintained,

facts and figures collected and causes of poverty investigated. In addition to this, the State initiates legislation and adopts other ameliorative measures.

Academically speaking, there are two types of charity organisation: institutional and non-institutional. The former is in-door, the latter is out-door. Institutional relief is the function of governmental agencies. But if there are private agencies they are subject to government control. Non-institutional relief is generally the function of private charity. Much can be said on behalf of either form. The arguments put forward in favour of domiciliary rather than institutional relief are that it does not intervene with family life, makes easy to discriminate between the requirements of different persons, is economical as families who are allowed out-door relief may still earn a certain amount of money and the destitution being a variable quantity, permanent establishment of work-houses is not a sound proposition. The counter arguments include that relief becomes mechanical and unsympathetic as real inspection and supervision are difficult, it is sometimes unpleasant and exercises a depressing effect on the rate of wages and finally people can be better looked in institution.

What are we to conclude then? Silverman will make us believe that 'on the whole, the advantages of out-door relief would seem to outweigh the disadvantages. In most respects out-door relief appears to be more desirable, unless conditions definitely necessitate in-door treatment'. And we may add, each is good in itself. Combine institutional with non-institutional.

# Home and Foreign Affairs

BY "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Sarojini

SAROJINI, like her great Master Gandhi, has passed away, trailing with her clouds of glory. She has joined the choir invisible. To the end she kept her pulses going true and fast. She reckoned her life "as a thing to be dashingly used and cheerfully hazarded." That is better than sinking into a slow death having outlived her usefulness and almost her enjoyment, and well nigh forgotten by a generation that thrilled to the music of her voice and the poetry of her life. The fates have been kind to her all through and she died the death she would have loved.

I have no more to give, all that was mine  
Is laid, a wrested tribute, at thy shrine,  
Let me depart, for my whole soul is wrung,  
And all my cheerless omissions are sung;  
Let me depart, with faint limbs let me creep  
To some dim shade and sing me down to sleep.

She ceased to write poetry now forty years ago but "there was a poetry in her way of life, in her expression, in her attitude to life which charmed even more than the lyrical excellence of her writings." No one who came in contact with her could forget the spell of her personality—a personality that was far above anything she wrote or spoke.

Great as her talents were and undoubtedly her genius in many ways, one must attribute something to what Lord Haldane called the contingent in life. Two circumstances, one in early life and the other about middle age, have had a decisive influence on her life and career and shaped her destiny. One was the accident of a "bundle of her manuscripts" slipping into the hands of so discerning a critic as Edmund Gosse and the

other was her association with Gandhiji soon after his return from South Africa.

Sarojini's early poems were "mere echoes of English bards". Gosse was struck by the rush and energy of her language—a gift that is fully shared by her brother Harin—but was disappointed at the result. There was something exotic in that performance. "They were western in feeling and imagery", wrote Goss many years later. "They were founded on reminiscences of Tennyson and Shelley." He advised her to express herself in Indian imagery. No longer should she sing of Skylarks and robins and of village church bells in Sussex. The tinkle of temple bells was more in tune with her genius and the familiar scenes of our country life—the ballads of boat-swains and the palanquin bearers and the fishermen of the coromandal their joys and sorrows—were to be the theme of her songs. How gloriously she profited by that advice is now evident in the three volumes of scintillating verse she has bequeathed—The Golden Threshold, The Broken Wing and the Bird of Time—radiant with the colour and atmosphere of the sunny East.

To priests and to prophets  
The joy of their creeds,  
To kings and their cohorts  
The glory of deeds;  
And peace to the vanquished  
And hope to the strong;  
For me, O my master,  
The rapture of song.

The other great event which had so profound an influence on her life and thought was her contact with Gandhiji. To my knowledge there are no more moving words in all literature than her eloquent tributes to the

Mahatma. Beautiful words and thoughts that burn came spontaneously from her lips. She spoke supremely well; but she spoke so long and so continually that she was not always on top form. No speaker could and she knew it. She would have been happier singing; but the call of the country was insistent and she could not rest though the grand manner could not be sustained indefinitely. That was also a measure of her sacrifice to the cause she undertook with such earnestness and fervour.

She followed her master like a shadow wherever he went and she preached his gospel of peace and compassion with a fervour of conviction and eloquence unsurpassed in our time. She shared his prison house no less than the Government house, and apart from her own luminosity reflected something of the greatness of the master who had become a world figure. And then she laid aside her lyre for the sword of Satyagraha, and plunged Into the strife of the throng and the tumult.

But destiny had carved for her a distinct role :

Where brave hearts carry the sword of battle  
It is mine to carry the banner of song.

Sarojini died full of years and honours. She was so bubbling with life and vitality, so charming in her simple and unaffected ways, so full of mirth and laughter, that she continued to the end the same ebullient girl she was half a century ago. She grew in stature as she grew in wisdom and compassion. But the woman in her, all that was homely and loveable, her warmth and affection, her capacity for suffering and sacrifice—never deserted her. Speaking of her last hours Pandit Pant tells us that

when she came to know that a telegram was being sent to her son, she said that she did not like her son being told that she was unwell. She said; "Write to him that I am all right and send him my love."

Her deep feeling as a mother did not allow her son to be caused pain and worry on account of her health. She would rather sacrifice herself than make others suffer.

Her mother-heart and indomitable will triumphed even over her own frailty and suffering in the last hours of her earthly life.

#### Pandit Nehru on our Foreign Policy

Even when India was a subject country Pandit Nehru had distinguished himself as a politician of international outlook. And now that his fortune and his talents have placed him in the exalted office of India's Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs he is proving himself quite in his element in dealing with the complex affairs of the world situation. Speaking in the Dominion Parliament the other day the Prime Minister took the opportunity to explain India's position in the context of international rivalries. What exactly is our position in the Commonwealth? Are we bound to fall in line with England in the event of war taking a definite stand in world alignment? Pandit Nehru gave answer unhesitatingly—an answer quite in keeping with our age old traditions of peace and goodwill and the recent teachings of Mahatma Gandhi. "It is only in terms of independent nations co-operating together that we can consider the problem of our association with the Commonwealth," said the Pandit.

Declaring that India's foreign policy was a policy of active neutrality, he rejected suggestions for an alliance "with this or that nation". Alliance usually involved military and other commitments which were more binding.

Other forms of association, which are not binding that way, but help to bring other nations together for purposes of consultation and necessary co-operation, are therefore, far more preferable than any form of alliance.

What the outcome may be, I do not know. Our policy in regard to this matter is going to be strictly determined by the Jaipur Congress resolution.

That resolution said free India would welcome free association with independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal, and the promotion of world peace. "Our main stake in world affairs is peace" said the Prime Minister, "and to see that there is racial equality, and that people, who are subjected, become free."

Touching upon India's future relationship with the Commonwealth, he said the Government proposed to adhere strictly to the Congress Party's resolution on the subject at the Jaipur session. Pundit Nehru said :

We have been associated with the Commonwealth, that used to be called the British Commonwealth of Nations, in a way which was entirely unsatisfactory, and we all fought to get out of it. I say we have completely achieved that objective of independence in practice and in theory.

Of course, changing circumstances have to be understood and interpreted in different ways, but the broad lines of policy has been laid down, namely, that India will, naturally and inevitably in a few months, become an independent Republic. (Cheers.)

We quote the precise words that the Pandit used but there should be misunderstanding of the purport of his declaration on this important issue. India is naturally more deeply and intimately interested in the fortunes of the countries adjacent to her borders. Economically as well as ethnically, and also for purposes of defence, the countries of the Far East are bound together by a sort of geographical compulsion. Events in Indonesia or Burma or Malaya are of concern to the whole Eastern bloc. It is natural therefore that these countries with

Australia in the Far East, should come closer and closer together. Now, that co-operation, the Pandit declared, would be a co-operation, of independents without the least commitment upon the part of any one to the other.

### The Pakistan Constitution

It was clever tactics which ultimately became a habit with the late Mr. Jinnah to wait for the Congress leaders' move in any matter and then take his own time to announce his reactions. Evidently that sensible policy—for all its betrayal of lack of initiative—is being closely followed by the top men in Pakistan to-day. Many months after the formulation of Free India's resolution on the fundamentals of the new constitution, the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has adopted the basic resolution on the form the Dominion's Constitution should take. In the Pakistan Assembly the other day, the Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan who moved the resolution said that the constitution provided that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the laws of Islam. But, he added, in their desire to build up an Islamic State, they would not ignore the right of non-Muslims.

The text of the resolution published in the Press has nothing very objectionable. "The Sovereign independent State", which it claims, has a familiar ring. The reference to the rights of the minorities is welcome. But the insistence on "the laws of Islam" whatever they may be, will still be viewed with suspicion and apprehension by non-Muslims. One would think it is an irrelevant addition to a constitution which promises equal treatment to all who owe allegiance to the State. No doubt it is a concession to the sentiment of the Mullahs who were promised the rule of the Shariat in

those unregenerate days when the League fought for a separate Muslim State. Pakistan will find that in practice the State should line up with advanced modern democracies, if it should aspire to a proper position in the comity of Nations. It would no doubt have been wiser and better if the red rag of "Islam", smacking of medieval times and the memories of ancient vandalism had not been allowed to make inroads into a Constitution that aspires to be modern. Let us hope that in actual working the administration will be thoroughly impartial, making no distinction in the treatment of Muslims and non-Muslims.

#### The Socialists and the Congress

It is a welcome sign of the times that the Socialists, while deeply critical of the Congress, are alive to the danger of aligning themselves with the Communists. Whatever their differences with the Congress they are one with the parent body in this—that violence and sabotage should have no place in the Indian democracy. This was made clear by all the speakers at the recent Party Conference in Patna. Both Acharya Deo and Mr. Jaiprakash, in their speeches and actions, realise the wisdom of the Socialists playing the part of constitutional opposition in the Congress dominated government. That is a correct and understandable position.

"The plain and obvious truth," said the Acharya, "is that Congress has become a conservative force and no amount of pious declarations can change its character."

Though they have not so far expressed it, at the back of their mind they would realise as quick-witted men, that it is one thing to proclaim one's principles and ideals

and another to practise them in the day to day working of a great and complicated machinery. When one day they get into power—as they fondly hope—they will know the limits of the practicable in spite of high salutin sentiments. By that time we have no doubt they will be criticised as conservatives by their then opponents.

#### The Future of French India

The referendum to decide the future of the French settlements in South India will take place on December 11. The decision was taken unanimously at the open session of the General Assembly of the Municipal Councils of French Indian Settlements, namely Pondicherry, Karaikal, Mahe and Yanam. The Mayor of Pondicherry presided, and 198 out of 200 Councillors attended.

This decision of the French India General Assembly of Municipal Councils has all the appearance of a correct move. But it needs little imagination to realise that talk of referendum in a matter affecting the French or any foreign settlement in India is irrelevant. Suppose for instance that Bristol or York had come under the sway of France or Germany during one of those unfortunate periods of internecine civil wars in England. What will be their position when England came to her own? Will such settlements be tolerated by free England?

That is the point from which a question of this kind should be viewed. It is one of those self evident truths or birthright as Tilak used to call it, that India is one and indivisible and when we come to our own we cannot tolerate foreign pockets within our borders any more than England.

or France could tolerate them. Only, Indian statesman desire to accomplish this peacefully and rationally without creating heat or bitterness. Britain has quit and France and Portugal must take a leaf from Britain and quit gracefully and unconditionally. If this is not agreed to, said the Congress President, it means an invitation for a movement for such absorption. "Let us hope no such complications will arise."

### Burma

Burma Government's peace offer to the Karens was in the nature of an ultimatum. But the Karens seem to be strong. *Shankar's Weekly* is not far wrong when it presents both the Burma Government and the Karens displaying their respective placards with the same words: "Offer you Separate State within our State." That means the Karens feel themselves strong enough to defy the Government and offer their own terms to the Government. Uneasy lies the new State. The situation is frankly intriguing.

### India's Demand on The Dutch

At the recent session of the Security Council, India's delegate Mr. B. R. Sen, appealed to the Netherlands to reinstate Republican authority in Indonesia and declared: "The spirit of a nation cannot be broken by bayonets and bullets".

Mr. Sen made the following three demands in the Security Council of the United Nations :

1. Implementation of the resolution on Indonesia;

2. Restoration of the Republican Government at its capital, Jogjakarta within fourteen days; and .

3. Report on the Jogjakarta atrocities and the situation there.

The spokesman for Pakistan declared that no nation could gain its unlawful objectives by resort to military action.

The Egyptian delegate characterised it as a new concept in international politics that one Government should decide the form and leadership of another independent country.

### The Atlantic Charter

The terms of the Atlantic Pact welding North American and European nations into a great defensive bloc to fight aggression in Europe or North America by collective armed action were revealed to the world on March 18, after eight months' negotiations.

The pact will bind each of the signatories to go to the aid of any member attacked, with such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force.

They also agree to consult together in the event of a threat to the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties.

### The Chinese Affair

High Government Military sources are increasingly pessimistic over hopes of a negotiated settlement in China's long drawn out war as heavy Communist troop movements are reported from the north bank of the Yangtse river.

Continued Communist preparations for a new offensive and the Communists' North Shensi Radio attack on Kuomintang officials were responsible for this feeling.

# The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

COLLECTED POEMS Three series.  
Methuen & Co., Ltd., 36, Essex St, Strand,  
London, W. C. 2.

The three booklets in the Series form an attractive anthology of poems selected with due care for the use of readers, young and old. The young will appreciate their introduction to the beautiful world of poetry and the old will recollect with pleasure many a poem made familiar to them in their early studies in schools. In the nature of things, an anthology can at best be a matter of personal taste. We have in this series a collection of verses varied enough to suit the taste of all readers. Recent poetry and contemporary verse must appeal to a considerable body of the poetry reading public.

STATISTICS. By Y. D. Keskar M.A.,  
B.Com., F. S. S.—Vora & Co., Publishers  
Ltd, 3, Round Buildings, Kalbadevi  
Road, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 10-8-0.

Very few books have so far been written on statistical methods and their applications to different branches of scientific knowledge.

This book of Prof. Keskar lucidly written with numerous illustrations serves admirably as an elementary introduction to those who have no knowledge of higher mathematics and desire to acquire a rudimentary concept of statistical methods and their application to Social Sciences. In the first few chapters the author has given an introductory note to the subject and has explained in detail the principles of con-

ducting statistical investigations, the census and sample surveys. Beginning with the simplest type of diagrams two chapters have been devoted for explaining the preparation of different kinds of charts and graphs. In the subsequent chapters various mathematical formulae for measuring location, dispersion, showness and correlation have been mentioned and the methods of computing them for observed data have been profusely illustrated with a large number of worked examples. Besides a chapter dealing with the precautions that have to be taken in the interpretation of Statistical data, separate chapters have been devoted for treating the topics of interpellation, time-series and index numbers. The original addition to the book is the last chapter where the author has given a brief historical review of the statistical material in India and a list of the Statistics available in Government publications and defects in them. The author has taken throughout great care in making all the topics included in this volume an easy and clear reading to non-mathematical beginners of the subject. In addition, a large number of exercises, drawn mainly from the University Examination papers, have been included at the end of each chapter, for the benefit of students using the book.

This book, besides being a useful introduction for all those who wish to make an intelligent study of Statistical Methods and their uses in various spheres of life, will serve as a good text book for those courses having their syllabus limited to the topics included in this volume.

HE WALKED ALONE. Poem By N. V. Thadani, D.Litt. Bharat Publishing House, Kashmere gate, Delhi.

The sequel of India's Independence wrought a crisis in the soul of Gandhi. He gave a reluctant approval to the sundering of the country in the hope that it would be the final act of appeasement of Jinnah and peace would prevail over the land. Jinnah's continued aggression and hatred gave many provocations. One of their effects was the fading of loyalty to Gandhi and Gandhism. The sudden flare up at Calcutta and its continuation in Naokali and Bihar created a situation which the new infant Government at Delhi could not effectively control. The Mahatma could give no advice nor did he seek any. Possibly he was himself awaiting guidance and light. He finally determined upon a final act of supreme sacrifice in what Rajaji calls a unilateral act of love, and staff in hand ventured into the danger spots. The people laughed at him but he wrought a miracle and saved further slaughter of men. An unknown destiny called him to Delhi where he met his tragic end. The book under review is the story in verse of the last sojourn of the Mahatma from stormy Calcutta and ravaged Naokali to New Delhi where the bullet of Godse relieved him from the burden of the further guidance of the country. The account is a gripping one. Besides the narration of events, the messages of the Mahatma and most of the verses of the Bhagavat Gita which he loved are rendered in happy verses. The finale is graphic. But lilt and rhyme are not adequate for the pathos of the tragedy. A new measure could have been ventured,

INTERNATIONAL VOLUNTARY SERVICE FOR PEACE 1920-1946. Edited by Ethelwyn Best and Bernard Pike. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price 8 sh. 6d.

The volume under review is an admirable summary of the activities of International Voluntary Service for peace, which is well known as the I. V. S. P. Organisations. Since 1920, after the first war, constructive work is being carried on in many countries for the benefit of the distressed communities and the reconciliation of the peoples. The book describes the experiments in this direction. Its pioneers began the work in Northern France.

Psychologists have recognised to-day that the war and the combative instincts in man cannot be banished by the magical wand of the politician. The aggressive instinct in man has to be sublimated into constructive channels. Pacifism is not mere refusal to fight. Peace is the product of several factors. It is based not on mere material and political arrangement. We cannot have an improved society with unimproved men. Even good means turn out to be bad in the hands of evil men. We need to re-orient human conduct and not organise on mass scale. The need of the hour is individual remaking and not wild and exciting social experiments. The most valuable part of the book is the six appendices at the end of the book, dealing with different aspects of the I. V. S. P.

A famous author touring the jungles of Central India came to a Gond village. "You people in the forests are certainly lost to civilisation," he observed to the headman.

"We don't mind being lost," was the reply: "It's being discovered that worries us."

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

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March 1. Kolhapur merges with Bombay from to-day.

—Dr. Evatt urges need for regional groups.

March 2. Death of Sarojini Naidu, Governor of U. P., in Lucknow.

—Dr. Sita Ram appointed India's Envoy in Pakistan.

March 3. Central Budget debate in Parliament opens.

—China Peace Committee formed.

March 4. Pandit Nehru addresses Federation of Chambers of Commerce at Delhi.

—President Truman invites Nehru to U.S.A.

March 5. Soviet Foreign Minister, Vyshinsky, replaces Molotov.

—Sardar's call to the Sikhs.

March 6. Socialists in Conference at Patna.

—Pandit Nehru explains India's offer to Burma.

March 7. Parliament approves Defence grant.

—Gandhi Fund Trust deed signed at Delhi.

March 8. Reuter Mission arrives in India.

—Dr. Sun, Chinese Prime Minister, resigns.

March 9. Mr. Divakar addresses Standing Committee of A. I. Newspaper Editors' Conference in Bombay.

—Tripartite talks in Delhi on Kashmir truce plan.

March 10. Bill to abolish discrimination in favour of Europeans and Americans in criminal law introduced in Parliament.

March 11. Mr. V. P. Menon in Ernakulam: Talks on Travancore-Cochin integration.

March 12. Karen fighting in Mandalay.

March 13. S. I. R. Labour Union abandons strike.

—Burma welcomes foreign aid.

March 14. Reuter delegation in Madras.

—Mr. V. P. Menon of the States Ministry explains Cochin-Travancore Union at a Press Conference in Madras.

March 15. The Dutch accept Canadian proposal in respect of Indonesian issue.

March 16. Parliament votes finance demands.

—Communists in complete control of Mandalay.

March 17. Parliament votes grant to Home Ministry after hearing Sardar Patel's account of his stewardship.

March 18. Reuter delegation in Delhi.

—Text of North Atlantic agreement published.

March 19. Nehru refutes Frontier Government's baseless charges of helping Red Shirts.

March 20. Committee of Municipal Councillors in French India draft conditions for Referendum.

March 21. Admiral C. W. Nimitz appointed U. N. Administrator of the Kashmir plebiscite.

March 22. Mr. Eden addresses Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi.

March 23. Shrimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit appointed envoy in U.S.

March 26. U. N. Commission invites Dutch and Republicans for talks.

March 27. At Press Conference in Hyderabad, Gen. Chaudhury announces elections by year end.

March 28. National Planning Committee dissolved.

March 29. Forestry and Timber utilisation Conference for Asia and the Pacific meets at Mysore.

March 30. Syrian Commander-in-Chief becomes Dictator following coup.

—Sardar Patel inaugurates greater Rajasthan at Jaipur.

March 31. Congress Party Leadership Election in Madras. Mr. Omandur withdraws.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## PAN-ASIAN BLOC

Mr. Edward J. Byng, writing in the *New York World Telegram*, says that while the conference of 19 Asian States in New Delhi ostensibly devoted itself to the Indonesian situation, it actually laid the foundation for a gigantic Pan-Asian Bloc, three times as big in territory as the U.S.A. and seven times as populous. "The two rivals, America and Russia," says Dr. Byng,

are likely to discover that the new born Pan-Asia, inhabited by half of the world's population and increasingly conscious of its tremendous power, soon may begin to eclipse in influence both the Cominform and the North Atlantic group of nation.

Nothing could be more illustrative of this prospect than the imposing roster of States represented at the recent meeting in New Delhi, which brought together leaders from India, Burma, Siam, China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines, a string of Mohammedan countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, and the member States of the Arab League, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Trans-Jordan, Yemen-Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt, part of whose territory lies on the Asian side of the Suez Canal.

Dr. Byng points out that the combined area of three countries is about 9,800 square miles, that their population exceeds a billion and that the guiding principle of the new Pan-Asia is expressed by the originally Japanese coined motto "Asia for the Asians."

To the amazement of the world's most seasoned diplomats, the recent Pan-Asiatic deliberations in New Delhi united in perfect harmony the representatives of well over 320,000,000 Hindus, the 400-odd million Confucianists, Buddhists and Taoists of China; over 60,000,000 Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Indo-China, some 200,000,000 Mohammedans of Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines and the Arab countries and 30,000,000 native Christians in the Philippines, China, India and other Asian countries.

The master stroke was the recent liquidation of the dispute between India and Mohammedan Pakistan over the destiny of mainly Muslim-inhabited but Hindu-governed Kashmir.

This triumph, Dr. Byng attributes directly to the ability of Pandit Nehru,

who "may go down in history as the 'founding father' of Pan Asia." He points out, however, that no balanced appraisal can overlook still existing points of weakness, that the war against Communists in China is not yet over, that Indonesia, Malaya and Indo-China are in rebellion and guerrilla fighting.

The vital question of Pan-Asian reaction to both Russian and Western politics cannot be understood, he says, without realising the profound influence of religion in almost every thought of Asia's millions. This results in a deep set aversion to what Asians regard as a materialistic interpretation of life. It is, he asserts, mainly for this reason that the major part of Asia is inaccessible to the doctrines of Marxism and especially to the irreligious attitude of Communism. However, for the same reason, he concludes, "the masses of Pan-Asia decidedly object to the industrialised pattern of European and American life."

## THE INDIAN READERS' DIGEST

The Gandhi Memorial number of *The Indian Readers' Digest*, (Re. 1-8.), Bombay, is packed with well selected literature on Gandhi which must prove useful to any one interested in the history of these stirring times. The "Quit India" speech and other historic documents of the Gandhian era find their appropriate place in a volume which is replete with articles on the master and his doings by contemporary writers. There are numerous illustrations depicting various phases of the Mahatma's life and activities. It will doubtless prove an admirable book of reference in after times.

## DEVELOPMENT OF INVENTIONS

The patent system has been the backbone of all modern industrial enterprise in industrially advanced countries. It has however not been used in this country to the same extent. There are many reasons for this, says *The Tanner*, the brightly got-up monthly of Bombay devoted exclusively to the tanning industry and other allied trades:

(1) General ignorance among the people, giving rise to fear that their invention will be known to others who will take undue advantage of the information. This is the main reason why many inventions are not patented in this country.

(2) General inadequacy of machinery popularising and policing the patent system.

The present provisions of the act require that a patentable invention should satisfy the following essential requirements:

(a) it should be a manner of new manufacture.

(b) it should involve an inventive step

(c) it should have utility and, d) it should not be contrary to law or morality or to the hurt of trade.

Many an invention is to-day completely lost, as details of these were never set down anywhere. The increase in use of the patent office, says *The Tanner*, will minimise to a great extent the loss of scientific and technical information. It would doubtless be a very long process to educate our technicians and make them realise the utter harmlessness in making their processes public. In view of the increasing desire of the Government to make the results of research available to industry, the patent system should be popularised so that technical information is not lost. For

It would encourage the taking of risks by business men in developing new inventions and give a much fairer prospect of success to Indian inventors who have no commercial resources of their own and have hitherto failed to obtain adequate commercial backing. It would moreover, have a particularly significant role in promoting the utilization of technical advances, in the field of cottage and small industries.

## OCCIDENTAL CULTURE IN INDIA

"Free India is not the product of an exclusively Oriental culture, observes Srimati Lila Ray in an article in the current issue of the *Aryan Path*. She says that Occidental culture has made a permanent and ineradicable contribution to the achievement of that freedom; it is an integral part of it.

Aryan, Islamic and Western thought have combined like atoms of Hydrogen and Oxygen to form the waters of her liberation. Each has made its just contribution, none dominates, and a new element has emerged, an element which reflects the essential unity of the human mind and gives rise to a broader humanism than the world has ever before sought to practise. It restores us to a sense of the uniting bond of man's estate and compasses within its scope the best of all regional cultures. The existence of this new world tradition is as indisputable a fact as the oneness of human destiny and the indivisibility of our globe despite criss-crossing lines of latitude and longitude.

Modern India, by reason of her geographical and historical circumstances, has been the theatre for a mighty confluence of cultures that has made of her a world in miniature.

All these diverse and often warring influences have played their part in the formation of India's present character and the character of her great leaders. Only in such a world and in such a country could a man of Gandhiji's stature have been born. In him, integrated into a harmonious personality, we see a perfect and complete synthesis of all the composite factors and in him and through him has come into being this humanism of which we have spoken, as a new and unpredictable element in world affairs.

In bringing out the human quest for values, she continues:

What matters to the common man all the world over is the presence or absence of honesty and kindness, justice and order and honour in his daily life, not ideological arguments with hair-splitting niceties.

Free India faces a World divided against itself as never before. Her new humanism is threatened with disruption within and without. The new world tradition of humanism, born in India and incarnate in Gandhiji, holds out the hope to us of such a country.

### COMMONWEALTH TIES

The Conservative *Sunday Times* calls for fresh efforts to build up the British Commonwealth so that "India and others will strive to remain in it." It should not be whittled away, it adds, "so that they will have no formal scruples in doing so."

The paper goes on to say that Pandit Nehru's "renewed insistence that India will soon be an independent republic reminds us that the Commonwealth faced a crisis in its affairs which cannot be evaded by blind-eye tactics or ambiguous formulae such as those the British Government employed to wrap up our relations with Ireland."

True, when Pandit Nehru goes on to say that only in terms of independent nations co-operating could India associate with the Commonwealth, he merely paraphrases the present Commonwealth creed: nor should it be impossible to find forms to enable a republic to stay in the association, provided the adjustment of form does not imply destruction of the substance.

It is, however, in that very proviso that the impending crisis lies. If form is to change, we are told, the substance of the connection must be reasserted.

To discard the Crown as the symbol of the overall, integral, family connection, with nothing comparable to replace it, would be to throw away the substance for the shadow, and to create a Commonwealth to which no one would see much purpose in belonging.

The British Government's handling of the Irish issue justifies grave uneasiness as to how they will tackle the larger and more vital problem which 1949 will cast in their lap.

There are some who believe that, if the Atlantic Pact is followed by others, covering the Pacific, Mediterranean, African and Indian Ocean areas, the Commonwealth can be allowed to fade out.

That is a profound error; an error in psychology, for the Commonwealth has an emotional appeal which these more mechanical and self-interested groups just lack; an error, in politics, for the Commonwealth connection is different in kind, less binding in pledges, more intimate and continuous in substance; and an error in geography, for the Commonwealth overlaps these regions and helps indispensably to hold them together."

### NOISE AND THE HUMANS

How do programmes like "Music While You Work" speed up industrial production? Dr. Jean Fumiere, 40-year-old French sound engineer, announced the other day that he had found a partial explanation, reports *News Review*.

Cows are easier to milk when listening to music. Ancient Greeks and Oriental peoples realised the importance of sound and perfected their own musical modes. African Natives use wailing, discordant tones to help them in their work.

In modern life, improvements in sound-proofing cannot keep up with the nerve-racking noise of traffic and machinery. But man finds silence almost as intolerable. The silence of the countryside can become oppressive, considers Dr. Fumiere, and even the trickle of a brook is welcome. Hermits who live in silence are often "queer."

Following up these findings, he discovered some two years ago that blood pressure changed when different musical records were played on a gramophone. He has since evolved a picturesque theory that "nuclear filaments" in each living cell oscillate at a very high frequency under the influence of cosmic rays given off by the stars.

Dr. Fumiere tried to discover what happens when a wave of exactly the same length as those put out by a human cell is emitted by an apparatus he has invented. He found that cells of different organs give off different waves. "The wave lengths are so small," he explained, "that I have no real method of measuring them. I have ascertained, however, that waves about a millimetre in length give stomach pains to all in the vicinity of the instrument, while others give headaches."

## MIXED MARRIAGES

'Don't marry out of your Church, or you'll regret it all your life'. So all Roman Catholic priests and many Protestant ministers warn their flocks. But most young people in love believe that love will conquer everything—including church dogma, ritual and customs, writes David Dallin in *The New Leader*.

To find out what actually happens in marriages between people of different faiths, Sociology Professor Murray H. Leiffer of the Methodist Garrett Biblical Institute in Evanston, Ill. conducted a survey in a 'middle-class, densely occupied community in a large American city'. His findings, published in the *Christian Century*, make a more detailed warning to young lovers.

**Silent Husbands.** With help from 22 churches, Professor Leiffer & associates interviewed one or both partners in 748 'mixed' marriages. More than one-third (271) were marriages of Lutherans and Roman Catholics; marriages of non-Lutheran Protestants to Catholics (209) were almost equaled in number by inter-denominational marriages between Protestants (206).

The commonest adjustment to a mixed marriage, says Leiffer, is for one or both of the partners to stop taking an interest in church.

Of the 444 men who were involved in a Roman Catholic-Protestant marriage, 110 no longer had even a nominal connection with their old church and 124 had not attended church for a year. Of the 449 wives involved in such marriages....60 claimed no church affiliation and 91 had not attended church for a year.'

Usually it is the husband who sacrifices his religion on the altar of marital concord.

## INDIAN STATESMANSHIP

Tributes to Indian statesmanship are paid by the leading weekly Review *Economist*. In an article headed "Indian Rampart," the Review says that the last three months have seen striking changes in views taken by the outside world of India and the Government of Pandit Nehru.

1. Moscow seemed to have decided quite recently that a sinister "third Power" is arising in Asia, the strength and stability of which might offset what has been achieved by the Communists in China and Burma.

2. London has watched with growing admiration and relief the moderation and skill with which Indian Statesmen have steered through the cross currents of Asian nationalism rising from Indonesia to the Middle East.

3. Other Commonwealth capitals have become increasingly aware of Delhi as a centre of power, around which some regional organization for the countries of the Indian Ocean might grow.

On the question of India's ability to confront the Communist challenge the *Economist* says:

Communism cannot be eliminated by police repression alone, but, at any rate, the boldness with which the Congress leaders have grasped the nettle shows their awareness of the danger.

Pandit Nehru's latest statement leaves no doubt that India cannot go back on the decision to become an independent Republic, the *Economist* continued but he also made clear his wish for the continuation of the Commonwealth tie in one form or another.

If as high an order of statesmanship can be applied to the solution of this problem as has been brought to bear on Indian affairs since 1945, an outcome may be expected which will establish a new framework of peace and stability in the Indian Ocean and Southern Asia.

Patient—"Do you extract teeth painlessly?"  
Dentist—"Not always; the other day I nearly dislocated my wrist."

### INDUSTRIAL LABOUR IN INDIA

'Poverty anywhere constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere'—this declaration of Philadelphia on the aims of International Labour Organisation absolutely holds good for India. The problem of raising the standard of living of the Indian world—both industrial and agricultural—is one which Free India has to treat on a level of high priority," writes Mr. J. P. Gupta in the *New Review* for January.

Tremendous efforts he says have been made by the Labour Ministry to improve the lot of the industrial workers. The Five Year programme of labour reforms which the Government have devised is intended to improve the condition of the working classes not only in organised industries but also in others. It includes the provision of fair wage industrial training, improvement of industrial peace and contracts, social security, housing and welfare work. The provinces and States have their own individual code and it will be one of the important objects of the Five Year Programme to co-ordinate them.

Hours of work in factories have been reduced from 54 to 48 per week, the general standard laid down by the I.L.O. Workers in factories have also holidays with pay for ten consecutive days, in a year in the case of adults and fourteen consecutive days for children.

Adequate housing has been increasingly engaging the attention of Government. An Industrial Housing Committee set up under the 1942 Tripartite Labour Organisation prepared a scheme providing for every family accommodation of at least a minimum of two rooms. The Ministry of Labour has taken up a scheme involving the construction of 50,000 houses for miners in the coal fields.

Regional and Sub-regional Employment Exchanges were set up in the country to facilitate the procurement of the 'job' and the 'jobbers'.

A number of technical centres, which have been set up during the war to meet the heavy demand for skilled personnel from war industries were pressed into service for the training of ex-servicemen

in furtherance of the New Training Schemes.

In addition to the Technical Training Scheme, there is a scheme of Vocational Training, in trades other than engineering such as commercial, clerical, professional and semi-professional occupations, cottage and small-scale industries etc. The existing centres have a total capacity of 5,000 seats.

Another remarkable approach to the problem of Social Security is the establishment of Employees' State Insurance Co-operation which was inaugurated on the 6th October, 1948.

### THE SANMARGA

This is an English-Tamil fortnightly organ of the Akhila Bharata Dharma Sangha, Madras Branch, Edited by Mr. V. Narasanan, M.A., M.L., and published at the Ashrama, Mylapore. This little journal presents a sober and detached view of enlightened Vedic religion. The writings, particularly in English, bear marks of culture and deep learning, and are happily free from fanaticism that so often mars the usefulness of periodicals with a conservative bias. The journal is bound to provide constructive impetus to those who seek "Sammarga"—the auspicious path.

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# INDIANS OVERSEAS

## South Africa

### CAUSE OF DURBAN RIOTS

Mr. P. R. Pather, General Secretary of the Natal Indian Organisation, told the Durban Riot Enquiry Commission on March 11 that growing political antagonism towards the Indian over a long period, culminating in a tirade of hatred during last year, and a deep sense of frustration suffered by the African, were the principal causes of the riots. It is our honest opinion he said, "that none of the causes adduced by African witnesses can be accepted as contributory causes of the disturbances." Mr. Pather declared, that development of the riots could be set down in four phases.

In the first phase, encouraged by inflammatory propaganda directed towards the Indians, the Africans vented their frustration on the weak and defenceless Indian community. They were also encouraged by the attitude of some Europeans who regarded the affair as a joke. This set the stage for the outbreak of January 18.

In the second phase, hooligans among the Africans and opportunists among Europeans, who disliked the Indians were responsible for a message sent to all African compounds next day for an attack on the Indian community. Indians were attacked and shops damaged but this could have been stopped if the police had taken firm measures.

Thirdly, encouraged by knowledge of police inadequacy, Africans as well as many Europeans had half-castes started to loot the damaged shops.

Fourthly, the damage having been caused and nothing being able to stop its development, Africans resorted to murder and carnage on the night of January 14 and the early morning of January 15.

### REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

Mr. Yusuf Cachalia, Joint Secretary of the Transvaal Indian Congress, described as a "political trick" an offer by the South African Minister of Interior to pay a double bonus to Indians who voluntarily return to India.

Mr. Cachalia said the offer was aimed at getting the votes of the less-informed section of the electorate, particularly in Natal.

He added that only a few elderly people born in India who had already decided to return, would avail themselves of the offer.

"The vast majority of Indians here are citizens of South Africa and no coercion nor an unfavourable social, political and economic position will induce them to leave South Africa", he said in a statement.

## Burma

### EVACUATION OF INDIANS

Due to the stress of war many Indians have left the interior of Burma and already some have returned to Calcutta and Madras. The Indian Embassy in Burma has been instructed to give all help to those desirous of coming back to Madras. Pandit Nehru, speaking in Parliament said the other day:

Indians had been evacuated from danger zones like Insein, but the Government of India did not want nor was it possible to evacuate the Indians in Burma, who numbered about seven lakhs. He was glad that Indians as a whole had not got into trouble there and had not been treated badly by anybody.

**Malaya . .****DUAL CITIZENSHIP FOR MALAYA INDIANS**

Indians in Malaya who take up Malayan federation citizenship may retain their Indian citizenship under a new clause to be introduced at the next session of the Indian Constituent Assembly in New Delhi, declared Mr. Budh Singh, President of the Malayan Indian Congress.

He said that the Government of India was sponsoring the new proposal as the result of representations he made during a recent visit to India.

India was opposed to dual citizenship, but he put forward the view that in the case of Malayan Indians no dual citizenship was involved, because 'federal citizenship is not a complete citizenship, as it does not mean a nationality.'

**INDIAN CASUALTIES IN MALAYA**

Mr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament on March 4, in answer to Seth Govind Das that 24 Indian policemen, constables and civilians were killed and 47 injured in the disturbances in Malaya upto December 81, 1948. Six members of the Indian regular police were killed and 29 injured. Seven Indian special constables were killed and four injured. Eleven Indian civilians were killed and 14 injured.

**Seth Govind Das:** Is it a fact that batches of Indians are being exonerated and repatriated from Malaya to India?

**Dr. Keskar:** According to the latest information, 58 Indians have so far been repatriated.

**DO MORE GOOD**

**Candidate:** "How did you like speech on the agricultural problem?"

**Farmer:** "It wasn't bad but a day's rain would do a heap more good."

**Ceylon****CITIZENSHIP ACT**

Now that the Indian and Pakistani Residents (Citizenship) Act has been passed by the Senate, steps will be taken by the Ceylon Government to enforce the legislation.

One of the first steps in this connection will be the appointment of a Commissioner for the Registration of Indian Residents.

The Commissioner will be assisted by a Deputy Commissioner for the whole Island, or two or more Deputy Commissioners for specified areas of the Island. A certain number of Investigating Officers will also be appointed.

This staff is being appointed for the purpose of inquiring into the applications of Indian residents for registrations as citizens of Ceylon, for the registering of those residents as are found to be qualified under the Act, and also for generally administering the provisions of the Act.

The Commissioner will for the purpose of inquiry under the Act, have all the powers of a District Court to summon witnesses, to compel the production of documents, and to administer any oath or affirmation to witnesses.

The Citizenship Act is likely to be operated under the Minister of Home Affairs and several duties have been cast on the Minister under the Act.

According to the Act the Minister may make all such regulations as may be necessary for prescribing the form of applications for registration, certificates registration, notices and notifications, the register of citizens required under the Act, and the oaths to be taken for the purpose of the Act. The Minister will further have to prescribe any matter of procedure incidental to the Act.

## Britain

### INDIAN STUDENTS IN BRITAIN

The *Manchester Guardian* called on people in British University towns to support a movement aimed at making students from India, Pakistan, China, Egypt, West Africa, the West Indies and other countries more comfortable while they are in Britain.

"People who live in university towns can do a valuable service by supporting the East and West Friendship Council" the paper said.

"This council's object is to make pleasanter the stay in this country of students from the Colonies and from the East and Middle East, by putting them in touch with hospitable English families.

There are today more than 10,000 students for whom this council caters: 8,000, from the colonies—West Africa and the West Indies send the largest contingents—2,000 from India, and substantial numbers from Egypt, China, Pakistan and other countries standard.

### REPATRIATION OF INDIANS

The Government of India have sanctioned about Rs. 2,000,000 to the Indian Ambassador in Burma for the purpose of repatriation of Indian nationals in that country.

Since the beginning of the present disturbances in Burma, 2,140 Indians, including women and children, have been brought to India from that country in six ships. Out of this number 814 disembarked at Calcutta, 154 at Madras and 284 at Vizagapatam. The Government of India have placed Rs. 5,000 at the disposal of Protectors of Immigrants at these ports for paying railfare to the destitute repatriates to go to their home towns and for feeding them during their stay at these ports.

## Indo-China

### HARDSHIPS OF INDIANS IN INDO-CHINA

Mr. V. Nadimuthu Pillai, member of the Advisory Committee to the External Affairs Ministry, Government of India, told a representative of the *Hindu Madras*, that the plight of Indian Nationals in Indo-China was still much the same as before and that they were experiencing great difficulties in respect of home remittances. He said that as a result of the agreement reached between the Governments of India and France six months ago an over-all limit of Rs 50,000 for remittances from Indo-China to India in a month was fixed and allowed. Even this small sum the Indians were finding it difficult to remit to their dependents in India.

Apart from this, Mr. Pillai said that an Indian National coming from Indo-China into India was permitted to take any money with him. This meant hardships for Indians as it would not be possible for them to proceed to their homes as soon as they landed in India. He said that the matter was taken up with the Ministry for External Affairs, by him recently and the Government of India had now made it possible for Indian Nationals to bring with them Rs. 150.

## British Guiana

### INDIAN CITIZENSHIP IN BRITISH GUIANA

Mr. D. P. Debidin, a leader of the Indian community in British Guiana and a member of the Legislative Council there who is in India on a short visit, met Pundit Nehru early last month and discussed with him problems relating to Indians in British Guiana such as dual citizenship and repatriation:

Mr. Debidin is visiting India for the first time, and will stay in the country for six weeks.

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS

DEPARTMENTAL

NOTES

## QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

### INTEGRATION OF STATES

Five hundred and thirty-eight out of 562 Indian States have been integrated within a year and a half according to a Report of the State Ministry of the Government of India now published. The integrated States cover twenty-nine per cent of the total area of the country and have a population of 48.8 millions.

Referring to the tasks ahead of Government in relation to States, the Report says that it is the intention of the Government of India to integrate Benares, Khasi States (numbering sixteen), Manipur, Cooch-Behar, Rampur, Tehri-Garhwal and Tripura States approximately with due regard to the geographical and other considerations.

The political future of Bhopal State, which has an area of about seven thousand square miles and a population of about 7,50,000 is under negotiations with the Ruler. There has been a popular demand for its integration in one of the adjoining units and a satisfactory settlement will be made soon, adds the Report.

As regards Mysore, Travancore and Cochin, the Report states that the policy to be adopted is receiving attention.

As regards the political future of Hyderabad, the Government of India stand by their earlier declaration that the future of the State and its relationship with India are matters to be decided by the people of the State. Arrangements are being made for convening a Constituent Assembly to enable the people of the State to decide its political future.

On Kashmir, the Report observes:

While accepting the accession of the State, the Government of India had made it clear that the accession would be regarded provisional until such time as the will of the people of State could be ascertained. The accession of the State to the Dominion of India has now to be confirmed by means of a plebiscite.

In the new Unions of States, the Report says:

Immediate attention will have to be paid to schemes of irrigation, development and exploitation of mineral resources. Measures for agrarian and other

reforms have to be thoughtfully planned and carefully executed. Adequate security arrangements have to be made in respect of the areas situated on the border of the Dominion lying in some of the Unions. A strong and competent administration alone will be able to, tackle these difficult problems of administrative consolidation democratisation and over-due reforms.'

### RESPONSIBILITY OF CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Report stresses the responsibility of the Central Government in regard to all the integrated States. While the States taken over by the Centre will be directly under the Ministry of States, in respect of the States merged into Provinces the responsibility of the Ministry will not terminate till outstanding matters are settled in the Unions, the transitional period will be one of acute stress.

Apart from their interest in the new Unions playing their legitimate role, the Government of India, observes the Report, have a direct responsibility in respect of the ordered progress of these Unions in that it is mainly through the Central Government's mediation and effort that the new political set-up has been consummated. "It is therefore, essential that the Ministry of States should carefully watch and guide the progress of the Unions beset with many dangers and pitfalls," it declares.

### 'MINISTRY OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS' ONLY

"The Indian Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations" will henceforth be called the Ministry of External Affairs.

Announcing this, the report of the Ministry submitted to Parliament says, the present designation of the Ministry is a relic of the past dualism, when External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations were dealt with by two separate departments of the Government of India. It is now proposed to call it simply the Ministry of External Affairs.

## UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

### SARDAR PATEL ON INDIA'S DEFENCE

"I make bold to say that so far as internal peace and tranquillity is concerned, the country is not faced with any serious threat now. We shall not, however, relax either vigilance or preparedness," declared Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel moving budget grants under Home Ministry in Indian Parliament on March 17.

Sardar Patel told the House that immediately after independence we were engulfed in a period of turmoil and insecurity. We were wondering whether we would be able to weather the storm. We lived through those troublesome days. Then came the greatest danger which engulfed that country,—namely the loss of the Father of the Nation. We kept our body and mind together and succeeded in meeting that crisis as well.

Then came the challenge of the R.S.S. and the Communists which is also now controlled. We have thus reached a degree of internal stability which no one could dream to predict on August 15, 1947. There is immense task ahead of the Government, especially in the economic field. If the Government is to succeed in tackling them, it is essential that there must be peace and order in the country. It is my desire and my mission to produce those conditions so that the country can settle down to its task of peace with as much enthusiasm as conditions demand.

### MR. EDEN ON BRITISH GOODWILL

Mr. Anthony Eden, former British Foreign Secretary addressing the Indian Council of World Affairs in New Delhi, observed:

There is, I can assure you, in Britain an immense fund of goodwill towards this country. Most cordially and sincerely we wish you well. As regards future developments, it is of course entirely for you to take any decisions which may seem wise to you. I will only say this, that the closer and the more intimate the relationship you may feel able to establish with us and with the sister nations of our Commonwealth, the happier we shall be.

I have been much impressed, in the short time that I have been with you, by the friendly and understanding spirit with which you have greeted us. In a world where there is so much suspicion, so much stress and strain between the nations, it is warming to the heart to see trust and confidence grow. If we can achieve this between us we shall have contributed not only a measure of increased confidence to our own times but will I believe, have built wisely and courageously for the generations that are to come. The one desire of the great mass of humanity everywhere after the shock and suffering of two world wars is to enjoy a period of peace. Tranquillity is the universal prayer. If in a constructive spirit we are able together to help build a larger sense of confidence among the nations, we shall not have worked in vain."

### LORD LAYTON ON THE ROLE OF THE PRESS IN INDIA

The "stupendous responsibility" that lay on the shoulders of the Press of India and the world Press generally to promote world peace and international goodwill was stressed by Lord Layton, and the other members of the Reuter Delegation in Madras.

The occasion was a reception given in their honour by Mr. C. R. Srinivasan, Editor of *Swadesamitran*, Madras, and a Director of the Press Trust of India, on March 14.

We believe that in the internationalising as it were of Reuters we have struck upon something that may play an enormously important role in maintaining the free movement of news throughout the world. We believe that very few countries by themselves could maintain, except subsidised by Government, an independent international news agency, but that, together, a number of countries can do so. It so happens, by accident as it were, historic accident if I may say so, Britain, Australia and India are at the moment called into partnership in this respect. It is quite obvious that that partnership is to a very large extent an experiment. We are trying something very unusual and we believe we can make a success of it, because there is a certain common ground between the Indian Press and the British Press—the concept that the individual is entitled to know what is happening to think for himself and not to have something imposed upon him by any Government. This is the basic concept of democracy. We believe that is the common ground and it is here we have one of the important jobs in the social sphere in which Asia and Asiatic communities and European communities can combine. If we can demonstrate that in the journalistic sphere, we would have showed an example capable of being copied in the political sphere, if there is to be world peace ultimately.

### LADY MOUNTBATTEN ON FREE INDIA'S RECORD

"India stands firmer than ever in her determination to allow nothing to come in the way of real democratic progress, moral integrity and the raising of the standard of life and opportunity for the masses of her people. I have absolute faith in the future of India not only as a great and enlightened nation, but as a supreme force for good and for peace in this troubled and shattered world," said Lady Mountbatten, in a speech-broadcast from All India Radio on the night of March 20,

## UNION OF COCHIN AND TRAVANCORE

Addressing a Press conference at the Cochin Premier's residence at Ernakulam on March 10, Mr. V P. Menon, Adviser to the States Ministry, Government of India, disclosed that the two District Congress Committees of Cochin and Travancore had resolved to integrate their two States. There was, therefore, no difficulty in forming a Union of the two States. By advocating an integration of Cochin and Travancore, he was only implementing the States Ministry's policy of reducing the number of States to the minimum possible.

When asked whether the integration of Cochin and Travancore would hinder the formation of a Kerala Province, Mr. Menon said that he was only concerned with the integration of States. He added the possibility of an Aikya Kerala could not, however, be ruled out at this stage. He added that no final decision had been taken on the future of Cochin and Travancore at present.

Mr. Menon said in reply to another question that if a union of the two States were effected, the people of such a Union would be full-fledged nationals of India and that the Union would be on a par with the Provinces in its relations with the Centre.

## GADGIL'S DISCLOSURE IN PARLIAMENT

The Government of India have advised the Government of Madras that the present moment is not opportune to start work on the ambitious Ramapadasagar project. Reasons for the advice are technical difficulties, heavy requirements of materials and of foreign and domestic funds. The scheme is held ambitious in the sense that it will require for its completion more than Rs. 130 crores and 19 years' labour, and probably it will consume the entire cement, iron and steel and the entire technical and engineering staff available.

This was disclosed by Mr. N. V. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, in the Parliament during question-hour on March 4.

## SALARIES OF RAJPRAMUKHS AND UPARAJPRAMUKHS

The Minister of States, Sardar Patel furnished a statement in Parliament showing the salary and allowances sanctioned to the Rajpramukhs and Uparajpramukhs of the various Unions of States.

According to the statement the Rajpramukh of Saurashtra Union has been sanctioned a consolidated allowance of Rs. 16 lakhs per annum. In Matsya Union the Rajpramukh has got a consolidated allowance of Rs. 70,000 per annum. The Rajpramukh and Uparajpramukh of Vindhya Pradesh have been sanctioned a consolidated allowances of Rs. 122,000 and Rs. 20,000 respectively per annum. The Rajpramukh and the Uparajpramukh of Rajasthan have got a consolidated allowances of Rs. 5 lakhs and Rs. 25,000 respectively per annum. The Rajpramukh and the Uparajpramukh of Madhya Bharat have been given a consolidated allowances of Rs. two and a half lakhs each per annum. The salary and allowances of the Rajpramukh of Patiala and East Punjab States Union is under consideration.

## NON-INDIANS IN GOVT. SERVICE

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said in Parliament in reply to a question that there were about 1,925 non-Indians serving in a civilian capacity under the Government of India. The expenditure incurred on them was about Rs. 12,87,735 per month.

Sardar Patel explained that Britishers were not "foreigners" but non-Indians" so long as India was not out of the Commonwealth.

## DR. SYED HUSSAIN

Dr. Syed Hussain, the Indian Ambassador to Egypt, died suddenly at Cairo, in the last week of February after a heart attack. He was 63 years old.

Dr. Hussain, journalist and publicist, was appointed Ambassador in Cairo in November, 1947. Previously he had spent 25 years in the United States, where he was known as an ardent supporter of the Indian nationalist cause.

## EDUCATIONAL

### RS. 5-CRORE PLAN FOR GUJARAT UNIVERSITY

A five-crore plan of Gujarat University was unfolded by Mr. G. V. Mavlankar, Speaker of the Indian Dominion Parliament, at a Press conference on December 28. He said that 100 acres of land were acquired for the various colleges of the University and 525 more acres of land would be acquired, it was proposed.

Arts, Commerce, Science, Pharmacy, and Engineering Colleges, with a Physical Research Laboratory, were started, while a Textile Technological Institute was to be started. Some of the buildings were constructed while others were either under construction or about to be constructed. The work of the University, which was expected to cost about five crores of rupees in 10 years had been initiated with a loan from a bank and advances from a few persons, while donations were flowing.

The University was recognised by the Government of India as a charitable institution for computing donations to it as an item of cost for the purpose of income-tax. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel is one of the trustees of the University.

### RADIO-PHYSICS DEPARTMENT FOR CALCUTTA UNIVERSITY

The Senate of the Calcutta University at its annual meeting decided to open a new department called "the department of radio physics and electronics" first of its kind in India, in the University College of Science with effect from February 1, 1949.

### EAST PUNJAB UNIVERSITY SCHOLARSHIPS

The East Punjab University has decided to continue payment of scholarships awarded by the undivided Punjab University, Lahore, to such students as have migrated to other Universities consequent on the partition of the Punjab. Payments would be made for one year in the first instance after which the matter will be reviewed.

### CARNATIC MUSIC COLLEGE

The Government of Madras have passed orders appointing Prof. P. Sambamurthi of the Madras University as part-time special officer for the organisation of the Central College of Carnatic Music.

The College of Carnatic Music will be run under the joint auspices of the Government of India and the Madras Government. Both of them will share the expenses equally. A large amount was originally provided for the acquisition of land and putting up buildings for the college; but in view of the general policy of the Government, that building programmes should be postponed for the present, the college is now being started in rented buildings in the old Mysore Palace grounds. Two buildings, "Rahamat Bagh" and "Sea View" have been rented for this purpose. The College will be situated in one, while the other will be utilised for the hostel. It is the intention of the Governing Body of this College to develop it ultimately into a Music University which, it is expected, when established, will be a unique institution for music in the East.

### B. E. DEGREE OF MYSORE UNIVERSITY

The Government of Madras have ordered that the B.E. (Mechanical) Degree of the Mysore University be deemed equivalent to the B.E. (Mechanical) Degree of the Madras University. The Government have also directed that the A.M.I.E. (Ind.), to be awarded after November 1, 1949, in accordance with the revised syllabus prescribed by the Institute of Engineers (India), be recognised as equivalent to the B.E. Degree of a University in the Province of Madras.

### BOMBAY UNIVERSITY

The following colleges of the Bombay University offer courses leading up to B. Com.: H. L. College of Commerce, Ahmedabad, Pratap Singh College of Commerce, Bombay; Podar College of Commerce, Bombay and Prem Chand College of Commerce, Surat.

## TRIAL OF EUROPEANS

The Home Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, introduced in Parliament a Bill for the removal of certain existing discriminations in favour of Europeans and Americans in the criminal law of the country.

The Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure contain certain provisions which entitle Europeans and Americans to preferential treatment in matters of trial and punishment. These include the constitution of special jury, special treatment in prison, etc.

These provisions, the statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says, are an anachronism and it is sought to expunge them from the statute book. Repeal of the Penal Servitude Act of 1855, and the amendments to the Indian Limitation Act, 1908, and the Prisoners Act, as proposed in this Bill, are consequential to the proposal to eliminate the discriminatory provisions.

The European Vagrancy Act, 1874, is also being repealed. The Act places vagrants of European extraction on a special footing as compared with the vagrants of other nationalities in India. "There is no reason for such discriminatory treatment and the Act is now sought to be repealed," the statement says.

The Bill also contains amendments to the Indian Extradition Act, 1903, to bring the law in line with the above principle.

## GODSE'S APPEAL

Nathuram V. Godse, who was alleged to have murdered Mahatma Gandhi, has filed a petition in the East Punjab High Court at Simla reiterating his right to argue his own appeal. He has also made it clear that his appeal would be on the charge of conspiracy only and not to that of murder:

"I humbly pray that Your Lordships may be pleased to pass orders that I may be taken to the High Court at the time of the hearing of the appeal, so that I may argue in person.

## SEVERANCE FROM HINDU FAMILY

The question whether a member of a Mitakshara Hindu Joint Family can become divided in status by issuing notice of his intention to separate to the Manager of his joint family without issuing notice to the other members was decided by His Lordship, Mr. Justice Viswanatha Sastri, at the Madras High Court, while disposing of a reference made to him.

Mr. Justice Satyanarayana Rao held that if a member of a Mitakshara joint family wanted to sever his joint status from the family, he should make that intention known to all the other adult members of the family. In a matter like this, the managing member had no power to represent the other members so as to enable him to accept notice of the severance in status and thus to create the disruption. His Lordship, after discussing the authorities cited, disagreed with the opinion expressed by the author of Maine's Hindu Law on this point.

Mr. Justice Panchapakesa Sastri took the contrary view, agreeing that the opinion expressed by the author of Maine's Hindu Law was reasonable, viz, that the right of a member to sever from the joint family was an individual right and consent or concurrence of the other members or even of the managing member was not necessary for it. It was enough if the member unequivocally expressed his intention to become divided.

In view of the difference of opinion, the matter was referred to a third judge, Mr. Justice Viswanatha Sastri. His Lordship agreed with the view of Mr. Justice Panchapakesa Sastri and held, after tracing the origin and development of the Law on the point from early Hindu texts, that notice need not be given to other members of the family of the intention of the individual member to separate himself from the family in order to bring about a division in status between himself and other members and that the declaration of intention to separate must be clear and unequivocal.

## TRADE AND FINANCE

### PAKISTAN'S TAX ON EXPORTS

Mr K. C. Neogy, Commerce Minister, told Parliament that the Pakistan Government were agreeable to an early conference on the problems of Indo-Pakistan trade that were likely to arise unless Pakistan's budget proposals were "materially modified."

Mr. Neogy, who was opening the debate on demands for grants for the Commerce Ministry, said, "I was somewhat distressed to find in the present Budget of the Pakistan Government certain proposals of taxation which are calculated to affect Pakistan's trade with India and prejudice the interests of our country. I am gratified, however, to learn that the Pakistan authorities are fully convinced of the necessity for intimate and whole-hearted co-operation with us in the matter of promoting internal and external trade and that they are agreeable to an early conference for the purpose of taking a comprehensive view of the problems that are likely to arise unless their proposals are materially modified."

### INFLATIONARY TENDENCIES IN INDIA

Inflationary tendencies still remain one of India's major economic problems, according to a world survey of world economic changes prepared by the United Nations Department of Economic Affairs. The report says:

There has been a continuation of inflationary pressure in most countries of the Far East during 1948. In general this pressure has results primarily from dislocations arising out of the war. It has been further aggravated in a number of countries by the continued disruption of normal economic life caused by internal disturbances.

In India, post-war inflationary pressures were primarily attributable to the large budget deficit for financing public investment, the increase in private investment and the decline in per capita supplies of essential goods, particularly food and cloth.

Dealing with the trend of financial and trade transactions, the survey says that the combined external trade of India and Pakistan has in recent years been character-

rised by the substitution of an import balance for the traditional export surplus.

Exports have declined while imports have been at a relatively high level owing to heavy purchases of capital equipment and the necessity of buying considerable quantities of cereals from abroad.

The liquidation of external debts during the war, the resulting decline in interest payments abroad, and the possibility of drawing upon Indian sterling claims on the United Kingdom have rendered possible this change in the trade balance. The pace at which sterling balances were released slowed down in 1948, however, and the balances that are released can no longer be freely converted to dollars.

### INDIA'S FOREIGN ASSETS AND LIABILITIES

In view of certain unavoidable delays which have taken place in extending the necessary legislation to some of the States and the States Unions in connection with the Reserve Bank's enquiry into foreign investments in India and Indian investments abroad in terms of the Bank's notification of October 2, 1948, the last date for the submission of returns by persons in these areas as well as in the rest of India has been extended upto March 31, 1949. It is also notified that no further extension of time will be granted beyond this date under any circumstances.

### FEDERATION OF CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

Mr. K. D. Jalan was elected President of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry at the annual session of the Federation at Delhi. Other office-bearers elected for the year 1949-50 were: Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand, Vice-President; Mr. D. S. Sen, Treasurer; and Mr. K. P. Goenka to represent textiles.

The following members were co-opted: Messrs. Lalji Mehrotra, Kasturbhai Lalbhai, A. Shroff, Shanmukham Chetti, Jagmohan Das Japadia and Ramanlal Bhai Chand Amir.

## RECOVERY OF ABDUCTED WOMEN

Over 300 abducted women and children were recovered in Pakistan and sent to India during the last eight months. The Government of India had so far registered 12,707 cases of abduction and 5,671 persons had been recovered. On the other hand, a third of the women recovered were not on India's list.

Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister for Transport and Railway, giving this information in reply to Mr. R. K. Sidhwa in the Dominion Parliament said that most of the women recovered in Pakistan had been brought to India. Difficulties were, however experienced in the case of some on account of their personal reluctance to return to their original families.

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES IN INDIA & U. S.

Women's activities in the United States, Lady Rama Rau found, are quite different from those in India "for the simple reason that the scope women have in India is very much bigger."

The Ambassador's wife attributes this to the fact that social services are provided by the authorities in the United States while in India they are not. American private organisations therefore just support the services provided by the authorities. In India, however, the type of work done by women "reaches down to the people much more," she feels. Women's activities in India encompass such fields as literacy, child and maternity welfare and introduction of cottage industries.

## WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR EXAMINATION

The Public Service Commission, West Bengal, has requested the Calcutta University to record the age of the women candidates appearing for different examinations of the university. The Commission points out that while giving appointments to women, they are experiencing difficulty in ascertaining the actual age of the candidates.

## PAY SCALES FOR BRITISH WOMEN

Details of the new rates of pay, pensions and gratuities for members of the Women's Services have been published as a supplement to the general announcement made in the House of Commons.

The principle adopted has been that following the increases announced for men, women's pay should be raised to three quarters of that issued to men of corresponding rank and seniority. Retired pay, service pensions and long service gratuities for women are to be two-thirds those of men. Additional pay for women has, in general, been abolished, as it was for men, but some forms of it (qualification pay for A. T. S. officers) will be issued at about three-quarters of the rate paid to men.

Arrangements have been made to ensure that no woman receives less under the new code than she was receiving before. If her old rate, because of war service increment, for example, is higher than her new rate would be, the allowances will be continued at the same rates as for men.

## WOMEN REGULARS IN THE U. S. A.

President Truman has just appointed the first batch of women officers to the regular forces of the United States. Out of the total number of 347, 199 have joined the army, 120 the air force and 28 the navy. These are no temporary assignments but regular appointments to military status, exactly as in the case of men. In rank the ladies range from second lieutenant to major. Rather brutally, however, Congress has decided to allot rank on the basis of age, making 32, for instance, the boundary line between first lieutenant and captain, and 89 between captain and major.

## COURTESY TO WOMEN IN BUSES

The Government of Madras have appealed to men passengers travelling by buses to show courtesy to women passengers and relinquish their seats in favour of the latter, whenever occasion arises.

## GENERAL

### FEDERAL SERVICE COMMISSION

The Government of India, it is learnt, have decided that, except in exceptional circumstances, the recommendations of the Federal Public Service Commission with regard to the selection of personnel for appointments in Government service will be accepted.

In case any Ministry does not accept the recommendations, the reasons will be communicated to the Commission and the Commission given an opportunity to justify its recommendations if so desires. If, after further consultation, the Ministry still considers that the recommendations should not be accepted, the case will be placed before a Committee of the Cabinet consisting of the Prime Minister, the Home Minister and the Minister concerned with the appointment. This Committee will be the final arbiter in such cases.

While the Federal Public Service Commission is only an advisory body, the law imposes on the Government the obligation to consult the Commission in regard to certain appointments. The responsibility, after such consultation, however, rests with the Government but a convention has been in existence by which the recommendations of the Commission relating to appointments shall be accepted "save in exceptional circumstances."

### RAILWAY AMENITIES FOR PASSENGERS

In accordance with orders to Railways from the Railway Board for special arrangements for supply of drinking water in the ensuing hot weather to passengers in their compartments at important stations, the M. S. M. Railway is arranging for an aggregate of 178 watermen in addition to the already existing number of watermen at principal stations. At selected stations these extra watermen, will go into the compartments and offer to fill the passengers' vessels without waiting for the passengers to go to them and ask for water. These special arrangements are being made as an experiment.

### REUTER GOODWILL MISSION

A delegation of newspaper proprietors in England under the leadership of Lord Layton, Chairman of Reuters Board, arrived in India on a goodwill mission. The other members of the delegation are Mr. Malcolm Graham, Chairman of the *Express and Star*, Wolverhampton, Mr. R. A. Henderson, Chairman of the Australian Associated Press, and Mr. C. J. Chancellor, General Manager, *Reuters*, London.

It will be recalled that Reuters entered into an agreement with the Indian newspapers' proprietors on a partnership basis for the supply of foreign news to India. The Press Trust of India has been organised and taken over Reuters machinery in India under the terms of that agreement. There are loose ends yet to be tied and it is necessary that there should be further discussions between the Press Trust of India and Reuter Board. The object of the mission is to complete the discussions in India.

### MEMORIAL TO LATE SAROJINI DEVI

An appeal for a fund of ten lakhs of rupees to raise a memorial to the late Mrs. Sarojini Naidu in the shape of a children's hospital has been issued over the signatures of the Governor-General, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Deputy Prime Minister, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and others. The memorial hospital is to be constructed near the Kamala Nehru and Begum Azad Memorial institutions at Allahabad and will be managed in co-operation with them.

### TOURIST TRAFFIC

The Sub-Committee of the Tourist Traffic Advisory Committee, meeting at Delhi, unanimously agreed to a suggestion to set up a Tourist Traffic branch in the Central Ministry of Transport. One of the main functions of the branch would be to co-ordinate the work of various bodies engaged in Tourist Traffic and generally help such organisations.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

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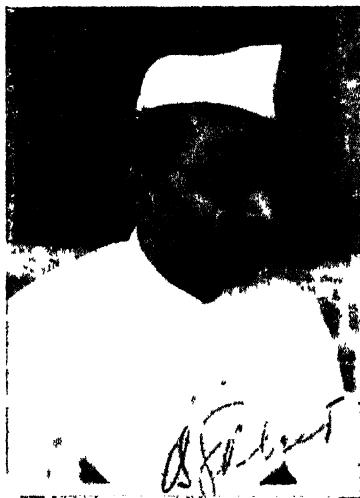
## The Life and Message of Shri Shankara

BY THE HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER

Premier of Bombay.

In a striking passage in 'The Discovery of India' Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thus sums up the life-work and greatness of Shankara :

"Shankara was a man of amazing energy and vast activity. He was no escapist retiring into his shell or into a corner



THE HON'BLE MR. B. G. KHER.

of the forest, seeking his own individual perfection and oblivious of what happened to others. Born in Malabar in the far South of India, he travelled incessantly all over India, meeting innumerable

people, arguing, debating, reasoning, convincing, and filling them with a part of his own passion and tremendous vitality. He was evidently a man who was intensely conscious of his mission, a man who looked upon the whole of India from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas as his field of action and as something that held together culturally and was infused by the same spirit, though this might take many external forms. He strove hard to synthesize the diverse currents that were troubling the mind of India of his day and to build a unity of outlook out of that diversity. In a brief life of thirty-two years he did the work of many long lives and left such an impress of his powerful mind and rich personality on India that is very evident today. He was a curious mixture of a philosopher and scholar, an agnostic and a mystic, a poet and a saint, and in addition to all this, a practical reformer and an able organizer. He built up, for the first time within the Brahminical fold, ten religious orders and out of these four are very much alive to-day. He established four great Maths or monasteries, locating them far from each other, almost at the four corners of India. One of

these was in the south at Sringeri in Mysore, another at Puri on the east coast, the third at Dwarka in Kathiawar on the west coast, and the fourth at Badrinath in the heart of the Himalayas. At the age of thirty-two this Brahmin from the tropical south died at Kedarnath in the upper snow-covered reaches of the Himalayas."

According to the generally accepted idea, Shankara was born in 788 A.D. and died in 820. At the time of his birth, India was in a state of disunion and disintegration. There was a large number of States, each warring with the others. King Harsha's empire had broken up, and in Northern India the Rajputs were struggling for supremacy. Buddhism was fast declining and a number of creeds had sprung up with crude ideas and cruder practices. The great religion of the Upanishads and also of the Buddha were nearly forgotten. What India required at the time was a dynamic personality, who could infuse a new spirit in the country and prove to be a strong rallying point for her cultural and religious forces. Shankara eminently fulfilled the need. From amongst the innumerable Srutis and Smritis he selected mainly the Gita, the Upanishads and the Vedanta Sutras and wrote illuminating commentaries on them. By unassailable logic and by his own pure life he proved that through appropriate discipline and conduct a man could attain the goal of religion in one's life. He was himself a great Sanyasin, and laid considerable stress on the need of every one leading a pure life. Sanyas did not mean inactivity to him and what he accomplished within his brief life of thirty-two years will be considered staggering by any ordinary man.

He preached a religion of strength and made the teachings of the Upanishads current coin in the country. He proved that mortal man is really immortal and that man is a master of himself and nature. Godhood is immanent in man. *Iswarah Sarvabutnam* and to realise this would be to overcome all ills and to attain indescribable peace. The mysterious Ego controlling our mind is a part of the immortal and indestructible Supreme Force *Paramatma* whose true nature is *Sachidananda*. True liberation consists in realising the oneness of the individual soul with the absolute soul.

Such, in brief, was the message of Shankara. In his own way he was a great nation-builder. The very fact that he established four Maths in the four corners of the country to encourage the idea of the fundamental unity of India and that he wrote all his works in Sanskrit shows that his aim was to make India culturally one. He took all that was good in the various tenets of his time and made it part of Hinduism as he expounded it.

The world is torn, at present, by jealousy and hatred. The whole of our civilization is threatened by the atom bomb. In our own country, there is still considerable communal and other bitterness, though Mahatma Gandhi staked his life on its eradication and ultimately had to give it up as a supreme sacrifice. The only remedy for this sorry state of affairs is the dominance of altruism and love over egoism and hatred. Why should I love my neighbour? Because in essence he and I are one. We are made of the same stuff; we cannot—must not hate each other as parts of the same body and must not hate each other. This feeling

should be assiduously cultivated through culture, social institutions and a radical transformation of the personality of the people. The last is perhaps the most important. But how is it to be brought about? With all the power of his great intellect and vigorous personality Shankara proclaimed the great Vedantic truth that realization of our unity with God is the panacea for all ills. In the present day context we might say that an intense realization of our oneness would lead to elimination of egoism and hatred and to

love of fellowmen. By prayer and pure action, constant meditation on the great truth of our essential being and by disinterested service to our fellow-beings we attain such realization, and our life acquires a deep meaning and purpose. That is the message of Vedanta as interpreted by Shankara and reinterpreted in our own day by Shri Ramakrishna, Paramahansa and Vivekananda, by Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. And that is the only effective answer to the challenge of the atom bomb.

## New Houses for Old—New Houses for All

BY MR. F. W. CORBETT.

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THE question of providing adequate and suitable accommodation for all, has always been a problem especially in the urban and industrial areas, but has now become a matter of urgency, by reason of the great increase of population in these areas, and the impossibility of meeting the needs of all, owing to the insufficiency of accommodation.

When the immense population of India, amounting to nearly three hundred and forty millions is considered the problem of providing accommodation for all in a reasonable period of time, appears, at first sight, to be insuperable, but fortunately, as the report of the Industrial housing Sub-committee published some time ago rightly remarks, the shortage of housing is more acutely felt only in the larger centres of population, as the great mass of the people live in areas of less than two thousand souls each, and the climatic conditions for the greater part of the year,

make the provision of pucca housing for them relatively unimportant.

According to the census of 1941 only thirteen per cent. of the population of India is town-dwelling, but as the Post-war population of every city and urban area has been practically doubled, it is reasonable to assume that the urban population of India is now about twenty-five per cent. of the entire population.

This paper attempts to suggest a scheme for the simultaneous provision of dwelling houses not only for this twentyfive per cent. of the population, but also for the seventyfive per cent. of the rural areas, in a relatively shorter period of time than that envisaged in the Industrial Housing Sub-committee Report, or in any other report published so far. If vigorously carried out, it can provide every family in the rural areas with a decent dwelling within two years, can ease the position in the urban areas within five years,

can completely house the entire urban population in ten to twenty years, and thereafter ensure that the provision of accommodation keeps pace with the growth in population.

Nothing adds to the dignity and self-respect of a man, than the fact that he is able to walk head erect into the house, instead of having to literally crawl into it, as so many of our people in the rural areas, and in the slum areas of our large cities now have to do.

It is very easy to achieve this in the rural areas in a short time, and with the minimum of labour and expense. The various designs of houses built of concrete, suggested and advertised from time to time, are excellent in their way, but are not necessary nor desirable for the rural areas and for the poorer sections in the urban areas, where the first consideration should be the *immediate provision* of cheap, easily constructed houses of the minimum standard of 100 square feet per person as laid down by the committee. Such dwellings can be easily erected, with little more than the cost of the labour, with the help of the prospective tenants themselves. There is no need to wait till cement, steel, and other expensive types of building materials are available. Nature has been prolific in providing our country with an abundant supply of clay and of building stone of every variety for building our houses. Temples, palaces and structures of every description have been built with these materials from time immemorial, and have stood the test of storm and stress for centuries. These materials are still in abundant supply, and, every village, town or other locality may easily obtain its requirements from within a radius of a few miles, at a minimum of cost in labour

and transport. It would be a criminal and short sighted policy not to make use of these bounteous gifts of nature, and to hanker after steel, cement and other new-fangled and expensive materials which are in short supply, and beyond the means of the poor.

Nor is it necessary nor desirable to go in for pre-fabricated houses—another of those fads, created by the war. Prefabricated houses are alright as a temporary expedient. They are still on their trial, and their durability has yet to be proved. They are also not suitable for Indian conditions, where fairly thick mud or stone walls are necessary to keep out the excessive heat. Their comparatively higher cost also militates against their extensive use. There will be no need for them if we make more extensive and rational use of the cheap materials readily at hand.

For the poorest classes, and taking the rural areas first, the walls may be of mud, or of mud and brick, which are cheaper than cement, and have served them well for building purposes all these centuries. But the houses should be better built, with higher plinths and walls, and more doors and windows. If built entirely of mud, the walls may be of the improved type, reinforced with stone chips, and pressed into blocks in long wooden frames, as recently adopted and demonstrated by the military authorities.

The great advantage of this type of dwelling houses is, that work on them may be started *immediately and simultaneously* in every rural area by the people themselves during the idle periods between the harvests, and without having to wait for

materials that are in short supply. All that they will need is a little advice and guidance. The first requisite is to decide the minimum standard dimensions for each dwelling. A survey may then be made of each village. In cases where the already existing dwellings are of less than the standard dimensions decided on, the owners or occupants may be helped and advised to reconstruct them to the required dimensions. As soon as a few such houses are reconstructed, other owners will see their advantages, and readily accept the help and advice to rebuild their own. Where they are prepared to rebuild with bricks or other suitable materials, they should, of course be encouraged to do so. In addition, new dwellings may be built for those who have none. In this work of building new dwellings, care must be taken to build according to plan, and not haphazardly, as in the past. The best plan would be to build in rows, each dwelling to consist of two rooms of the required dimensions, with a kitchen and a bathing place and a little courtyard at the rear. An open space of eight or ten feet may be provided between each building or group of two or three buildings, and twenty-five to thirty buildings may be built in each row. The next row may face the first, across a street, not less than fifteen feet wide. Each street will then consist of fifty to sixty houses, and, taking the average number of persons per household to be four, will provide accommodation for two hundred souls. A village of two thousand souls will therefore consist of ten such rows of dwelling houses, old and new. If this plan is vigorously carried out, all the

villages and rural areas can be rebuilt simultaneously, with the help of the people themselves, to provide every family with a dwelling of the standard dimensions within a period of two years. This is a result well worth striving for.

The problem becomes more difficult and complicated as we approach the urban areas and larger centres of population, where slums, built up areas, and so called vested interests have to be contended with. But none of these need stand in the way of affecting an immediate and reasonable improvement in the existing deplorable conditions. Large scale slum clearance such as has been envisaged in an ambitious scheme recently announced for Calcutta, and costing no less than 75 crores of rupees, will only unnecessarily put off the required improvements indefinitely, whereas what is required is the *immediate* provision of more accommodation, and the *immediate* improvement in the present highly insanitary conditions, both of which may be taken in hand simultaneously.

Taking slum clearance first, we may begin by breaking down and rebuilding the squalid, insanitary, ill-ventilated leanto huts of old mattings and kerosene oil tins, which disgrace and disfigure many localities in all our larger cities. Where they are owned by profit seeking renters, they should be compelled to rebuild them to the required standards. Where they are owned by the occupants themselves, or by the local authority, the expense should be borne by the latter. At the same time a process of "thinning out" may be adopted, by pulling down an unnecessary room or wall here and there, to improve the ventilation, and

by pulling down an entire hut or two at regular intervals in each street, for the same purpose. This "thinning out" may be accomplished with the least friction, and with the greatest common measure of agreement, by forming a committee of a few responsible residents of each locality, with the Municipal Commissioner, the Municipal Engineer and Health Officer, where they are available, to advise on which houses or portions thereof, may be pulled down to effect the necessary improvements. This method is much quicker and far less expensive than completely breaking down and rebuilding an entire area, and has the added advantage of causing the least disturbance or dishousing of the occupants.

Simultaneously with this "thinning out" process, a "filling in" process may also be adopted, by building, or encouraging the building of new houses in the open spaces that may be available in each locality. Elaborate development and housing schemes necessarily take years to materialise, whereas what is required is *immediate relief*. Our immediate objectives as far as the urban areas are concerned are therefore, to "thin out" the slums, and to "fill in" the open spaces. Both may be accomplished with a little active help from the Government.

This is a 'short term' policy for providing *immediate relief*. For 'long term' planning it should be the policy of every Government, and of every local authority, and, it should be made incumbent on every large employer of labour, to provide at least five per cent of its employees with suitable accommodation

at reasonable rents at once, and thereafter, to add at least five per cent every year. If this is done, every urban dweller will be provided with a house suitable to his means and requirements within twenty years. As at least one-half of the urban population is already provided with accommodation, this means that the entire urban population will be suitably housed within ten years.

Until such time as this is accomplished the extravagant building of luxury houses by the very rich should be prohibited. For instance, it was recently announced that a Calcutta millionaire has planned to build a mammoth luxury mansion of seven storeys, provided with every refinement of luxury with four lifts constructed of bronze and aluminium, etc., etc., at a cost of seventy-five lakhs, to house his family and servants consisting of *only 120 souls!* Not to be undone, a Bombay millionaire is also reported to be contemplating a building of outstanding size, replete with every modern comfort on a scale hitherto unknown in India at a cost of *three* crores of rupees, for occupation by wealthy tenants! Such fantastic schemes are bad enough in normal times, but are a crime against society at a time when millions have not even a roof over their heads. These millionaires should be persuaded, if not forced to use their wealth to provide much needed accommodation for the poorer classes of tenants at reasonable rents and to defer their fantastic schemes to more prosperous times. For the present the policy and purpose of everybody should be, "New Houses for old, and a house for every family, rural or urban".

# THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA

• BY PROF C. S. SRINIVASACHARIAR, M.A

Principal, R D M College, Sivagangai

FOR nearly three years and a half, from March 1942 to August 1945, Japanese propaganda in Java laboured hard to spread the exaltation of the Asiatic and the humiliation of the White man in the minds of the youth and the illiterate masses, particularly by means of the radio, the press and the popular stage. More important than the Japanese Army personnel, left in the Island on their evacuation was the vast quantity of ammunition, guns, bayonets and rifles, secured by the Indonesians, partly taken from unresisting Japanese soldiers and partly handed over voluntarily by the Japanese themselves, including control of their concentration camps. When the allied victory came about, these concentration camps did not at all benefit and continued to suffer, while fear of starvation increased for the internees.

The Republic of Indonesia was proclaimed on the 17th August 1945 with a great flourish of trumpets. In Sumatra enthusiasm was not so great. It was only a year afterwards that the Republican leaders were able to claim that Island as the second great pillar of their national structure. But in Borneo the Freedom Movement no sooner started than it withered away. There was no stir at all in the Northern Celebes, and but very little in the Lesser Sundas and in the Dutch New Guinea. In the rich Island of Bali, with its predominantly Hindu culture, the political influence from Muhammedan Java was comparatively small. Dr. Soekarno has been the main pillar of the Movement.

The next great Indonesian leader, Dr. Muhammad Hatta, had first fallen under the spell of German National Socialism and early grew up to be a champion of an independent Republican Status for his country. Both Hatta and Soekarno had ardently believed that Indonesian Independence would be realised under the new Japanese Order for Eastern Asia. Sjariffoedin, the next leader, is more westernised than the others. Soetan Sjahrir, the youngest of the four leaders, is a Sumatran by birth and frequently interned in New Guinea and elsewhere; and he was quite firm in his determination not to have any collaboration with the Japanese.

The Indonesian Republic was blessed at its birth by the dying Japanese Empire "in the shadow of the flames caused by the atom bombs of America," but it is equally certain that the Republic was not wholly of Japanese manufacture. At Dalat, near Saigon, the historic meeting of Soekarno attended by Hatta, and Radjiman, the Japanese-sponsored Mayor of Batavia, with the Japanese Field Marshal Terauchi, took place on the 11th August 1945. Three days later the proclamation was finally made of the birth of Indonesia, with its red and white flag and no compromising colours either of Dutch blue or of the Japanese Rising Sun. The younger generation felt that they were nearly as good as the Japanese and far better than the Europeans; while the Pelopors (the Youth Movement) included a number of fanatics for the Republican cause and many bands of terrorists and suicide squads.

For some months anarchy continued to prevail. The Chinese in the Islands who numbered two millions, were set upon by the poorer people and robbed and persecuted as they formed the easiest prey to the hooligan elements. The Dutch, including the semi-Dutch folk, had expected speedy relief by the Allied Troops. Dutch rule in the past was interpreted, on the one side, as a creditable record of three centuries of enlightenment and progress, but on the other condemned as three long centuries of exploitation and oppression. The numerous States and Regencies scattered over the islands, especially in Sumatra, under the control of nominally-hereditary Sultans and of nominated Regents, were also warmed by zeal for the Republican cause. The Dutch contended that Indonesian Nationalism had developed somewhat prematurely, and transformed itself within less than two decades from a local and East Javanese to a pan-Indonesian basis. The Dutch Lieutenant-Governor-General, Dr. Hubertus van Mook, had been a sober politician in the past and had strenuously worked for the good of the East Indies, both culturally and politically. He had always been striving, negotiating, arguing, planning and pleading, only to find that the agreements he had successively hoped to achieve had always become elusive and tantalising. Soekarno had always been immovable from his goal of a sovereign Indonesian Republic, though he permitted his followers to go through the wearisome processes of negotiations, arguments and counter-arguments, leading to tentative agreements.

The Allied Supreme Commander was anxious that British Indian Troops should

not get themselves involved in the internal politics of Indonesia, particularly because Indian opinion was not sensitive about the use of the Indian troops to suppress the independence and national movements in any Asiatic country. Their aim was merely to restore peaceful conditions and allow free expression of opinion and action that would lead to a final settlement.

For some months confusion was rampant in the land. When Indian troops landed for restoring order in October, 1945, bitter fighting persisted between the Japanese and the Indonesians, mainly due to the desire of the latter to obtain Japanese Arms. The British Command claimed to have faithfully followed a policy of restraint in the suppression of terrorism and disorder. But terrorism remained a persistent sore during all the months of negotiations that followed. A competent observer has shrewdly noticed that the Indonesian National Movement had been initially vitiated by the limited knowledge and small political experience of its leaders and also by the effect of three years of Japanese training and propaganda. In the process opportunities for private revenge, loot and massacre were much greater than in normal national movements.

## II

Soekarno, who was proclaimed the President of the Republic of Indonesia in the second week of November 1945, formed a new Cabinet with Sjahrir both as the Prime Minister and the Minister for both Home and Foreign Affairs. The President retained his firm hold upon the enthusiasm and the affections of the masses. He cleverly shifted his headquarters to Jayakarta in Central Java, leaving his Prime Minister to deal

with the delicate and complicated political situation at Batavia. The new Premier remained closely linked with his master, and never abated one jot of the reiterated demand for complete independence. Indeed, the Indonesian Cabinet felt itself to be strong enough to compel the Dutch negotiators to come to its doors for settlement, instead of its going to the Dutch Government requesting an understanding.

Sjahrir first took part in a series of conferences with the British and Dutch Delegations in an endeavour to bring about a final settlement of Dutch and Indonesian relations. In Sumatra, the Republican Movement was confined to Palembang and Medan; in Celebes the Indonesian leaders and local chiefs were at first unwilling to co-operate with the Dutch, but soon returned to order; and in Borneo the silence of desolation had always prevailed. Van Mook put forward appeal after appeal to the Supreme Command urging the adoption of a firmer hand in Java as no political agreement was possible while acts of terrorism continued. But time was inexorably on the side of the new Republic. Sjahrir disliked in his heart all the acts of terrorism, but for the time, turned a blind eye towards them. Jogjakarta was much better suited for the Republican leaders than Batavia. Thus between Batavia and Jogjakarta "there was both tug and war, but the tug was all on the part of the Dutch, and the war all on the part of the Indonesians, with no connection between them." While the Dutch saw no other alternative than to fly the Dutch Flag between themselves and the Indonesians the Republican leaders consistently held

that their independence had already become a *fait accompli*.

### III

The constitution framed for the Republic has a strong leaning towards that of the U.S.A., giving the President great powers to proclaim martial law and to disallow bills passed by the Council of Representatives and an article establishes socialistic nationalisation of everything. On the other side, the Dutch declaration of Policy elaborated the principles of re-organisation of the East Indies sketched by Queen Wilhelmina in 1942 and held out the prospect of combined independence and collaboration for the Indonesians in the Commonwealth.

A moderate political organisation emerged out of the practical turmoil, claiming to voice the opinions of millions of Indonesians who were not caught up by the Republican fervour, but as usual with all moderate movements, in stirring times it did not secure success and its leaders were naturally denounced by the Republicans as Dutch-puppets.

Talks on the new proposals began in February 1946 for negotiating a political structure based upon full freedom and self-determination for the Indonesians sufficient to satisfy all except the Extremist elements. As before, Van Mook talked and talked and flew often to Holland to get renewed instructions, while Sjahrir listened, and frequently journeyed between Batavia and Jogjakarta. All the time Soekarno kept himself in splendid isolation. But soon Dutch forces began to land in increasing numbers to take over, by gradual steps, from the British the task of maintaining order; and Sjahrir vigorously protested

against their landings, but urged counsels of moderation upon his Extremist followers. The result was that among the Republicans the moderates parted company from the fanatics, though they would not give up the cause of the Republic. Van Mook now offered a Free State of Java, that would be a partner with the Kingdom of the Netherlands in the Federation of Indonesia and the partnership was to last during the transition period necessary for the Free State to grow into a full-developed nation. The offer was refused; on which the Dutch were prepared to acknowledge an Indonesian Republic. Now the Indonesians wanted the recognition of their State as the one Republic of Indonesia. After this Sjahrir was kidnapped but set at liberty soon; and the incident did not cause more than a passing flutter.

In the Conference in Malino in Celebes held in July 1946 Van Mook stuck to his original stand. A later conference gave no practical results. By October 1946 there were 65,000 Dutch troops in Java well armed and trained; and a Royal Commissioner-General was now sent over from Holland for negotiating a final settlement; but though a truce was obtained through the mediation of the British Special Commissioner for South East Asia, Sjahrir held that the principle of Federation should be carried further than the Dutch had suggested, and that Indonesia would like to acquire membership of the United Nations Organisation. He also desired a clear definition of relations

between the Republic and the rest of Indonesia as well as with the Netherlands. The new Cabinet of the Republic that was now constituted (October 1946) was representative of all parties; and for the first time the Netherlands Government officially recognised the Republic, though they did not as yet announce what the constituent parts and territories of the Republic should be and did not certainly agree that Sumatra should yet be a part of it.

Thus a settlement was at last arrived at; but the proposals were fiercely opposed in Holland itself; and Soekarno held aloof, as usual, at Jogjakarta, obviously ignoring both the negotiations and the agreement.

The draft Liggadjati agreement broke to pieces on a dispute over article 15, which referred to the Government of the Netherlands having power to initiate forthwith legal measures to adjust the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation. This agreement clearly indicated how far the Netherlands Government were willing to go; but it had no real effect upon Indonesian opinion. The Dutch could win over Sjahrir, but not Soekarno, nor Hatta, nor Sjaffudin. Thus the new year of 1947 opened with a normal truce that was intended to cover the whole of Indonesia but the battle of bullets and the perpetration of atrocities continued, leaving everything unsettled.

(To be continued)



# Kantilal and the Octopus: A Story

BY MR. DEVENDRA PRATAP

KANTILAL took the bottle of "Pneumocure" in his hand and examined it carefully, tallying the particulars on the label with those jotted down in his note book.

"Seems all right," he said. "How much?"

"5/8, Sir."

"What? But the controlled price is 3/8, surely?"

The shopkeeper who was a shrewd, narrow-eyed, fat man with four chins and a smile that seemed laid on his face with a brush, winked.

"You are right, Sir," he said. "But, alas! we don't get it at controlled rates from the wholesalers. We buy it in the black market ourselves—for *esteemed customers like you*." The words trickled out of his mouth like synthetic honey and his smile deepened into one of obsequiousness.

"You lie," said Kantilal, trying to keep his voice even. "I know you get a quota from the Civil Supplies Department."

"My good Sir, but how much? Aye, Three dozen bottles a month. Pchah. And I have a hundred patrons to think of"

That was the black marketeer's way—always. Kantilal smiled grimly at the familiar words.

"I don't see," he said emphatically, "that that gives you any right to resort to the black market, buying or selling. If it were Brilliantine or a comb, your action would be bad enough in all conscience. But it is *not* Brilliantine. It is a medicine. An *essential* medicine for children. To blackmarket in it is to gamble with a child's life. It is a *crime*."

The shopkeeper's 'smooth silky smile vanished suddenly as if some one had run a blotting paper across his pudgy face. His eyes became steely. He curled his lip and all his four chins jutted out to assume an expression of derision.

"Then take your precious child into the General Ward of a Hospital," he snapped. "Why come to a shop? Why buy an expensive medicine? If the child's life is so dear, why not fork out what I ask?" He made a quick movement and snatched the bottle from Kantilal's hand, passing it on to an assistant behind him. "Crime indeed! It would be a happier world if people had less of this blasted Socialism in their heads and more in their pockets."

Of the customers present, a few laughed outright—people, Kantilal noticed, who wore stylish suits and diamond rings and had more than one chin; some grinned sheepishly—those of the spineless middle class who wanted the best of both worlds; only a very few—the young idealists—ranged themselves on Kantilal's side.

"But he is *right*," said one of these. "You ought not to blackmarket, you know." His tone was serious but pusillanimous. "You are not co-operating with the Government."

Two or three men laughed—those with the well fed appearance. The spineless continued to listen attentively, now and then wagging their heads indecisively, always endorsing the majority viewpoint.

"Co-operating with the Government!" said one of the multiple chins, guffawing as if he had come across a rare joke. He

turned towards the man. "You young bloods are all alike. Empty-headed idealists. You know *nothing*. What has the Government done for us that we should co-operate with it, eh? Can you answer that? Look at me. I am a Building Contractor. In 1942, my income was 30 thousand a month and I had three de-luxe cars. And to-day? Today, I offer "prasad" in a temple if I make two. And, as to cars, I suppose some *would* call a miserable 14 H. P. contrivance a car!"

He spat bitterly and continued: "And why have I come to such a pass? Because of our worthy National Government. Because of checks and counterchecks on my honesty. As if it could ever be in doubt! Merely to ensure that my cement will not be examined too closely, I slip across five thousand to an officer, only to find another officer above him who keeps reverting to its 'poor' quality. *Poor* quality, indeed! And when I have greased his palm too, up comes another—and yet another. There is no end of them. And eventually one turns up—he's rare, I'll admit—who will *not* accept my 'envelopes' and creates all sorts of fuss checking up on the bricks to find out if they are really first class. Bah. Sheer persecution, I call it. *Co-operating with the Government!*" He spat again. Turning to the shopkeeper, he bought six tins of a tonic food at thrice the controlled price and left the shop.

The shopkeeper and several of the remaining customers laughed heartily and the protest which had risen to the lips of the young man was stifled. With a shrug of his shoulders, he collected his purchases

and slunk quietly out of the shop, followed by the other 'idealists and the spineless.'

Kantilal flushed with anger. The fellow had talked nonsense and his logic had annoyed him. At the back of his mind was the image of his two-year-old child Ramesh. He was in the throes of pneumonia and, as a last resort, the doctor had ordered "Pneumocure". Nothing else—if anything—could save the boy, he had declared finally. So Kantilal had left the house at once, promising his young distracted wife that he would be back very shortly.

And here was "Pneumocure" right before his eyes. And it was not as if the difference was much. He *could* afford the two rupees extra which the shopkeeper demanded. But ought he? He was in a fix. He thought, sifted and weighed the issues carefully, dispassionately, and at last proceeded to the counter.

"All right, *baba*," he said. "Give me a bottle."

The shopkeeper's sticky smile appeared again—along with his doormat attitude.

"My wise Sir," he said in a confidential whisper. "I'm glad you see reason at last. These are not the days for idealism. You have a child to save and I—I have my large family to think of, eh? Well, well, here you are. And remember me whenever you need something you can't get anywhere else, see? I stock everything—*everything*!"

Kantilal nodded his head appreciatively, put some coins on the counter and tucked the bottle of "Pneumocure" in his pocket.

"But it is only 3/8, my dear Sir," said the shopkeeper, counting the money a second time before Kantilal, coin by coin, so as to make no mistake.

"That's right," said Kantilal. "3/8 is the price and 3/8 you get. Not a pice more."

"You cheat," cried the shopkeeper, his face livid with rage.

"Give me back the bottle."

"No," cried Kantilal, equally loudly. "And if you don't keep a civil tongue in your head, may be I'll have to show you how hard my knuckles are."

A crowd collected. A constable appeared.

"Hey, hey. What's all this?" the latter asked, stepping forward and saluting the shopkeeper.

"Let me see the bottle," he demanded when he was abreast of the situation. He took the bottle, examined it carefully, and was about to give it back to the shopkeeper when Kantilal smartly jerked it out of his hand.

"Se!" he exclaimed, "Our worthy incorruptible police, eh? Never heard of Sardar Patel, have you?" Then turning to the shopkeeper, he said quietly: "You'll have to come with me to the Police Station, master. This constable cannot settle our differences."

The fat man looked nervously about him and his tone changed immediately. "The Police Station?" he queried in a voice that betrayed his fear. "But, my dear Sir, there are no differences. None at all. You are right. The price is 3/8. Thank you, Sir, thank you."

Kantilal thought again. Here was the end of the matter—so far as he was concerned. Should he leave it at that and run home with the precious drug? But something inside

him prevented him taking this easy course, this line of least resistance. He caught hold of the fat man by the scruff of his neck and dragged him out of the shop.

"I must see it through," he said fiercely, "It is my duty. So, unless you want me to kick you all the way like a football, you will come quietly, my friend. And you too," he added turning towards the constable.

He was not a very powerful man but a certain zeal within him—a kind of fire—gave him the courage of a lion and, completely cowed by it, the shopkeeper and the policeman followed him meekly.

By the time they reached the Police Station, an enthusiastic crowd—never much in sympathy with the undeservedly wealthy or the "red turban"—was trailing behind them, cheering lustily.

Before the Inspector in charge, Kantilal stated his case simply. The fat man followed with a brazen denial and the constable supported the fat man. Under the table, something papery passed from the shopkeeper to the officer whose face immediately lit up with a smile of comprehension. He took Kantilal aside and whispered something into his ear.

"Are you trying to bribe me into silence, officer?" said Kantilal amazed at the other's words. "Shameful, I bring you a specific case of black marketing—you have no idea at what cost to myself—and you want to hush it up! But I might have known. For the last time, are you or are you not going to register my complaint against this man? Because, if not, perhaps I'd better get in touch with the S.P. I'm determined to see this thing through, you may rest assured. Somebody's got to

give a lead. The Octopus must have its tentacles cut.

'He knew that much time was being wasted. Every moment was precious to the life of his child. But he heroically ignored the lesser and stuck doggedly to the greater.

At length, the Inspector seemed to become convinced that this fanatic young man was in dead earnest. Reluctantly, lingering over every movement, he produced a register and leisurely took down Kantilal's dictation.

"Any witnesses?" he asked triumphantly, producing what he thought, was a trump card.

To Kantilal's surprise, no less than to the Inspector's six young men stepped out of the crowd and among them was the man who had raised his feeble voice in the shop to support Kantilal and had later seemed to slink away.

"I was outside all the time—watching," he said.

Three faces fell as the witnesses put their signatures and addresses to the report and at length, when it was all over, Kantilal hailed a taxi and jumped into it. He had done his duty and now he could go home with the precious "Pneumocure".

But even as the taxi drew up at the door of his house, he knew, with a sudden stab at his heart, that it was useless. He had arrived too late. The house was in commotion and the sound of his wife's wailing reached him.

In a sudden fit of rage, he dashed the bottle of "Pneumocure" to the ground and kicked viciously at the glass splinters. "Oh, if I hadn't been such a fool," he wailed remorsefully as he strode towards the house. "If I had let well alone..."

But, at the threshold, a new light dawned on him suddenly like a flash of lightning. He paused, jerked his head back proudly, looked at the starlit sky and murmured: "Have I been a fool, really? Have I? I wonder.."

## Rajasthan—Past, Present and Future

BY MR B. R. K. BHATNAGAR

**R**AJASTHAN, the land of the traditional rulers of Delhi in the pre-Muslim India, namely Rajputs, becomes the land of democracy, with the inauguration, on March 30, 1949, of the (Greater) United State of Rajasthan comprising all the States of Rajputana.

But even at the hour of its fall to the advancing forces of Indian nationalism, this last home of princely rule remains true to its historical traditions, which it established in the time of Akbar and, later Moghul

Emperors and continued during the days of East India Company and subsequent British Viceroys, i.e., the tradition of falling in line with Delhi. With the exception of Rana Pratap's Udaipur in Akbar's days, the entire Rajasthan, the land of reckless fighters, had paradoxically enough accepted the suzerainty of Delhi without spilling a drop of blood when the spilling of blood counted in the history of India. And now, when Delhi has changed its masters from Muslims and British to the Indian National

Congress and Rajasthan witnesses the bloodless transfer of power from Rulers and Princes to popular leaders, Rajasthan has once again accepted unlike other Unions of integrated States which have their own Legislatures—to be directly responsible to Delhi. This is, as it were, the age-old magic, which Delhi, the cradle and cemetery of successive governments of India, wields over the land which supplied a whole galaxy of heroes and heroines to the colourful stage of north Indian history, stage lit up by Rajasthani stars like Rana Sanga who led the armies of first Rajput confederation against Babar, and after routing Babar's advance guards at Khanwa inflicted on him a life of austerity and compelled him to break his drinking cups and swear by *Quran* never to touch wine again as a pious precaution against an impending defeat at the hands of Rajput forces, by stars like Rani Padmini who faced the fire to uphold the honour of Indian women and Rana Pratap who fired the imagination of soldiers of freedom in the face of heavy odds and imperialistic designs of Akbar, by stars like Raja Mansingh who carried the stamp of Rajput military genius throughout the length and breadth of the country and brought Kabul in the North and Golconda in the South to the feet of Delhi and poetess Mira Bai who stamped the compositions of the Indian poets of all times with a religious fervour.

I have called Rajasthan the land of Rajputs though Rajputs form only 5 per cent of the population, It is, nevertheless, the land of Rajputs, in that the entire texture of human life, and the entire outlook of 150 lakhs of its inhabitants is

shaped, moulded and cast after the Rajput pattern. The Rajasthani literature and folk songs written in "Dingal" are mostly bardic in origin, having for their theme the chivalry and valour of Rajput kings and chiefs; the fairs and festivals have the colour and romance reminiscent of Rajput bravery: the dress, appearance and social manners follow closely those prescribed for Rajput courts; and even prominent poets and poetesses have been the Rajput princess like Mira Bai whose compositions have been translated in all the Indian languages from the Himalayas to the Cape Comorin and the Somnath to Puri and the Rajput prince like Prithvi Raj, who, though a dignitary of Akbar's court, is believed to have inspired Rana Pratap to abandon the idea of qualified surrender to the Great Moghul, which the Rana had contemplated in a moment of desperation and exile. The couplets which produced this magic effect and Rana Pratap's reply to it when translated read:

FROM PRINCE PRITHVI RAJ

If you, Rana Pratap, would acknowledge Akbar, call him by the name of Padshah, the sun would rise in West. Oh Diwan (seniormost among the Rajputs): write to me one of the alternatives, whether I should twirl up my moustaches in pride or kill myself with my own sword.

FROM RANA PRATAP

The God *Eckinge* (Siva) will allow the mouth of Pratap to call Akbar only a Turk. The sun will rise in the East as it always does. Gladly therefore O Feethal (Prithvi Raj)! twirl up your moustaches in pride!

"Fair for the brave", is an age-old adage. Doubtless the people of Rajasthan have been brave—the Rajputs, Jats, Gujars and Minas have left an imprint of martial glory on the Indian Army of which they are an integral part even today—and fair their women-folk.

The beauty of Rajasthan's women has been proverbial. Well known for their well-chiselled features, they dress themselves in most elegant styles. Their ample colourful shirts which are a master-piece of tailoring in folds and pleats and star-studded *cholis* in real or imitation embroidery, impart rhythm and majesty to their movements. They have always fascinated the visitor from the West, one of whom Aldous Huxley, says that the women of Rajasthan

move with the princely grace of those who, with pot, and baskets on their heads, have passed their lives in practising the deportment of Queens.

Women belonging to the upper classes have been shut up behind the purdah, yet Rajasthan, true in its ideals, has ever been respectful to the dignity of womanhood. The kingdoms lost, lives sacrificed, and the pyres left by Rajasthan for upholding the chastity of its women and protecting the honour of its queens are the well known phenomena of Indian history.

The land which honours its women and produces sturdy martial people, has been equally a patron of art. The Rajasthani school of painting is a distinct and recognised school of Indian painting, possessing distinctive feature and beauty of its own. The love episodes of *Radha* and *Krishna* and the pictorial rendering of classical *Ragas* and *Ragnis* are the principal motifs of these paintings. The rare specimens of this art had a section exclusively devoted to themselves in the Paintings Gallery at the recent Government House Exhibition at New Delhi.

The architecture of Rajasthan has been described as a living art by Havell. The palaces of rulers, and the structures erected at the place of the cremation of royal

persons speak volumes for what the Rajasthani architecture has been capable of. Though Rajasthan does not possess any master builders, and has not given proof of their existence before, the talent of the individual builder is of a high order and even today the artisans and masons have retained a capacity to beat men of their class from other parts of the country. An ample proof of this was provided when Rajasthan, particularly Jaipur, Bharatpur and Alwar contributed a large number of masons at the time of the laying out and construction of New Delhi.

## II

It is a change from the poetic to the prosaic to leave the enchantingly colourful panorama of Rajasthan's past and return to the grim realities of the present.

What Rajasthan is to-day, except a backward unindustrialised barren tract of land? This is true. But the statement is not an unmixed truth. Rajasthan is backward, no doubt industrially, but it is the sons of Rajasthan's soil that are the industry makers of the Dominion of India. Whether it is the celebrated Birlas and Dalmias, the Singhaniyas or the Sekhsarias, the Podars or the Goenkas, all hail from Rajasthan—the owners of factories, mills, airways, banks, and what not. Except the Tatas, most of the front rank industrialists of India come from Rajasthan. If Rajasthan is, therefore, backward economically, it is not the fault of its people. It is Nature which is to blame, the Nature which has been hostile to its people. The entire energy of its inhabitants is concentrated not so much on expansion and development as in providing the very means of subsistence and livelihood,

which would preserve human life against the ravages of Nature and the recurrent danger of famine. Sandy desert patches and hilly barren tracts abound in Rajasthan, and the fear of famine lurks round the corner. But still heroic efforts have been made, wherever they could be made, to overcome Nature through wells, bunds and canals, particularly in the bigger of the States like Jaipur, Jodhpur and Bikaner.

As for industries, the land has not a bad account to give of itself. It has undoubtedly been incapable of large scale industrialisation, both for want of knowledge and means—knowledge and means, which, with the integration of the States, now are expected to be forthcoming. But it must be said to its credit that it has preserved and in case of Jaipur and Bikaner developed its cottage industries full well. The brass, ivory, sandal-wood, dye and paper industries of Jaipur are in a flourishing state. The carpet and wool manufacture industries have recently been organised by the Bikaner Cottage Industries Institute.

The backwardness of Rajputana has also been ascribed to the lack of education of the people. The people of Rajputana are indeed backward in education; but here again the educational progress of the land has been a queer phenomenon. There have been colleges in every big State of Rajputana. The Maharaja's College at Jaipur is over a century old and has seen the birth of the Punjab, Allahabad, Agra and now Rajputana Universities to which it has been affiliated from time to time for its various courses of study during its long history. There has been free education almost in every State. In addition, the Birla Education Trust

and Messrs. Surajmal Nagarmal have opened hundreds of educational institutions in Rajputana. A number of mutually independent big and small units have been existing in Rajasthan, yet, Rajasthan presents the singular example of possessing a university of its own, to which the educational institutions of all these administratively separate and politically unintegrated units are affiliated. This is an advantage not possessed even by the hitherto largest Union of States like Madhya Bharat. It is hoped that not faced with any difficulty on this score, Rajasthan will now make great headway in the field of education.

This is no doubt that with such advantages Rajasthan will soon be on the road towards progress the essentials for which it possesses in abundance—historical heritage, aesthetic and cultural outlook, industrial acumen, political unity, vast hidden unexploited natural resources and opportunities for power development at the only perennial yet potential river.—*Chamba*

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# PROVINCIAL BUDGETS

BY PROF. V. G. RAMAKRISHNAN, M.A.,

THE pattern of provincial finance that emerges from the Provincial Budgets recently presented to the Legislatures is that, as an anti-inflationary measure, the Provincial Governments have avoided deficit financing. In almost all Provinces, notably Bihar, Madras, Bombay, W. Bengal, deficits of varying volume have been sought to be met by new taxation measures. In Madras the deficit is of the order of Rs 3·91 crores, while the taxes proposed are expected to yield about Rs. 4 crores. In Bombay the additional taxes proposed will convert an anticipatory deficit of Rs. 398·48 lakhs with a surplus of Rs. 11·52 lakhs. In W. Bengal the revenue deficit is Rs. 111 lakhs and this is expected to be made up by Rs. 80 lakhs expected from the proceeds of the recently passed Sales Tax Amendment Bill and the Agricultural Income-tax Amendment Bill and Rs. 20 lakhs from the proposed increase in the entertainment taxes. The attempts made by the Provincial Governments not to leave their deficits uncovered is quite welcome but some of the taxation measures are obnoxious from the point of view of the larger interests of the people. For instance, the Bihar Government's proposal to levy sales tax on food grains, the Madras Government's proposal for withdrawal of the exemption from the General Sales Tax now allowed on the 1st sale of agricultural products; the 50 p. c. increase in the purchase tax on groundnut and cashew-nut, the tax on coffee hotels and boarding houses—all these will adversely affect the price of foodstuffs of the consumer and on that account, are to be depreciated at the present time since half the battle against

inflation consists of the reduction in the price of food. The proposal of the Bombay Government to levy a tax of 3 pies on all exports from that Province which is expected to yield about Rs. 2 $\frac{3}{4}$  crores a year, the withdrawal of the exemption so far granted in Madras in the case of tea, and the imposition of a tax on cotton at one stage are instances of levies which will accentuate the inflationary pressure, and further taxation of exports by the Provinces is an innovation payment with potentialities of evil for the future. While the progress in the process of integration and merger of States tends to break the old land customs cordon between them and the rest of India, the imposition of export duties by Provincial Governments is a barrier to inter-provincial trade and militates against national interest. The Madras Government's proposal to levy a tax on the increase in value of urban immovable property from 1938 to the date of sale looks like an inroad into central sphere of revenues and the proposal to impose a 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  percent surcharge on house tax levied by municipalities and panchayats is a clear encroachment on the field of local finance. The introduction of Prohibition and the abolition of the Zamindari system have no doubt added to the difficulties of provincial finance, especially at a time when the inflationary situation imposes upon the Provincial and Central Government to balance their budgets and put a check on non-productive governmental expenditure. In their attempts to cover deficits, the public authorities seem unable to resist the temptation to treat trade and the tax-payer as convenient milch-cows.

In regard to revenue, expenditure and fresh taxation, the provincial budgets this year disclose more or less similar features. The refugee problem in some provinces, and the acute food shortage in all the Provinces have affected their finances. For instance, W. Bengal has budgeted for a total expenditure of Rs. 10 crores on the relief and rehabilitation of refugees during the running year, while C.P. proposes to spend Rs. 3.27 crores on refugees. As regards the pressing and permanent problem of food, the cost of food subsidies and schemes for growing more food figures largely in the budgets of Bombay, Bihar & C. P.—Bombay (Rs. 8½ crores), C. P. (Rs. 4½ crores), & Bihar (Rs. 86 lakhs for grow-more Food schemes) alone. Any easing of the situation in the Provincial Budgets must begin first of all with an improvement in the food situation. Expenditure on Police and general administration etc. seem to be on the increase in all Provinces largely due to the present political and economical conditions with the result that lack of adequate funds seem to place nation-building activities in the region of possibilities rather than of immediate achievements. It looks as if more funds will not be available until the prices come down to normal levels and the various schemes now being planned actually become sources of provincial revenues.

Another main feature of Provincial Budgets is that fresh taxation follows more or less on the same lines. Excepting U. P. all Provinces have gone in from fresh taxation, and in all of them, the items, chosen are more or less the same. The Sales Tax has become a kind of 'Open Sesame' to the Provinces for augmen-

ting their revenues. For instance, Bombay has chosen to levy the tax on a wide list of food products, cheap cloth, and school children's requirements. Bihar proposes to tax food grains at 3 pies in the rupee. The consumption of electricity has come in for fresh taxation, while in Bombay it is being extended to industrial consumers, while in C.P. it is being levied for the first time on non-industrial consumers. As regards the sales tax, the varying policies as well as the varying rates of Provincial governments raise the question whether it is not advisable to have it centrally collected and distributed to the Provinces as in the case of income-tax.

#### W. BENGAL

The impact of the partition is much more evident in the economic than in the political sphere in the province of Bengal. The Budget estimates of W. Bengal Government for the financial year 1949—50 discloses revenue deficit of one crore and eleven lakhs. Chronic budget deficits have been always an unhappy feature of Bengal's finances even in the pre-partition days and the evil legacy has passed on to W. Bengal also. But it must be said to the credit of the Finance Minister that he has reduced the deficit to a very small proportion in a province whose economy has been rudely shaken by the Global War as well as the partition. The Revised estimates for the current year place the revenue at Rs. 30.59 lakhs as against 31.19 lakhs in the original budget, the difference being due to drops in revenue from Stamps, Registration, Provincial Excise, and land revenue, and the grants from the centre have been reduced to the tune of Rs. 4 crores and 87 lakhs and the cumulative effect of all

these things would have caused serious gaps in revenue receipts but for the better receipts under Sales Tax, Raw Jute, Electricity duty, entertainment Tax, Motor spirit, share of the divisible pool of income-tax and jute export duty.

For the coming year, increased receipts are anticipated under various heads such as Provincial excise, civil works, other taxes and duties and Transport. To meet the anticipated deficit in the coming year, it is proposed to enhance the entertainments tax, to revise the Agricultural Income-tax and to remove more commodities from the exemption list under Sales' Tax. On the whole the financial structure of the Province is not unsound. It has no public debt, funded or floating though it owes to the centre a sum of Rs. 8 crores 82 lakhs which will swell to Rs. 24 crores 83 lakhs at the end of the next year and these amounts are intended to finance such productive projects as Calcutta Transport scheme, Grow More Food schemes, the Mor Project and the Damodar Valley project. An analysis of the expenditure also reveals the changing pattern of public finance towards nation-building items. The shift from dead weight to productive expenditures is unmistakable. It is true that Police still occupies the 1st place in the list of expenditures but General administration which occupied third place in undivided Bengal has dropped to sixth place in 1949—50 in W. Bengal. Education which was fifth is now fourth. Medical aid has reached third place and the trend is thus in favour of nation-building items.

As regards W. Bengal budget this year, a notable feature is the review of the political and economic situation given by

Mr. N. R. Sarkar, the Finance Minister, as a background to the budget proposals. It is a matter of more than passing interest. Among the remedies suggested to overcome the deteriorating economic situation is borrowing capital from abroad and he is of opinion that loans from the International Bank would of course enhance India's credit and make other foreign creditors all the more ready to lend to India. But he wants such loans should be reserved only for selected Government sponsored or big schemes. He considers that participation of foreign industrialists would be even more fruitful of results than loans from International Bank in as much as India will get the requisite 'know-how' which the Bank Loans may not always carry with them. Since India has a strong centralised type of Government based upon democratic principles, Mr. Sarkar thinks that there is no need to be unduly apprehensive of the evils of foreign capital that are likely to manifest themselves in a country having a weak Government.

#### BOMBAY

As regards the budget for 1949-50, the revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 48.81 crores whereas expenditure debitible to revenue is Rs. 52.41 crores. There is thus a gap of Rs. 3.60 crores and in order to meet the deficit, the Bombay Finance Minister has made the following proposals. First modifications in the present sales-tax structure, stamp duty on bullion transactions, electricity duty on energy used for purposes other than lighting and fans or by industrial establishments and a tax on newspaper advertisements. Of the four proposals, there is justification for stamp-

duty on bullion transactions on the principle of taxing those best able to bear the burden of the tax. But in the case of other taxes, they would be really inflationary in their effects. The new imports are expected to bring in an additional revenue of Rs. 4.1 crores, which after covering the deficit will leave a small surplus of less than Rs. 12 lakhs.

#### MADRAS

The budget from 1945-50 estimates revenue receipts of Rs. 51.75 crores as compared with Rs. 53.38 crores (revised) for the current year. The estimated expenditure on revenue account for the budget year is placed at Rs. 55.66 crores as against the revised estimate of Rs. 57.04 crores for 1948-49. Thus the budget for the coming year reveals a deficit of Rs. 3.90 crores. Additional taxation measures are proposed to cover the deficit besides serving as an anti-inflationary measure. It is doubtful how far the additional taxation proposed will be really anti-inflationary but it is quite certain that it is an additional burden to the common people.

In a marathon speech, the Finance Minister has surveyed the measures for the betterment of the people and in particular for the Harijans, *viz.* a separate Department of Harijan Welfare and ample free educational facilities from the primary to the University stage. The Government's programme of Industrial development provides Rs. 51 lakhs for the purchase of shares in the proposed Industrial Finance Corporation. The Central Government has been approached for the establishment of a steel factory and there are proposals regarding the production of important chemicals. The

acquisition of the Andhra Paper Mills at Rajahmundry, the setting up of a hydrogenation factory at Calicut, the arrangements that are being made for the production of Austin Cars and the establishment of a factory for Standard Cars and Ferguson Tractors form part of a programme of industrial development. It is noteworthy that there is one thing in common to both Madras and Bombay budgets. In both provinces the full effects of the loss of revenue on account of Prohibition and the costly social projects are now becoming more apparent and the two Governments are resorting to desperate fiscal measures to make both ends meet.

#### UNITED PROVINCE

The U. P. Budget for 1949-50 declares a small surplus of Rs. 15 lakhs, receipts being estimated at Rs. 55.73 lakhs and expenditure Rs. 55.58 lakhs. No new taxes are proposed. Instead, two funds, the 'Sugar Research and Labour Housing Fund' to which Government have transferred Rs. 150 lakhs this year and the 'Zamindari Abolition Fund' to which will be allotted one crore out of the current year's surplus are to be created. The savings of the tenants are to be mobilised for feeding this Zamindari Abolition Fund. A tenant who contributes an amount equal to ten year's rent will be entitled to a reduction of 50 per cent on the sum now paid up by him as rent and will pay to the State one-half of this sum as revenue. This scheme will at once bring scattered surplus purchasing power into a pool to be utilised for eliminating middle men and reviving agricultural prosperity and will exert a healthy downward pressure on

inflation by canalizing savings into productive channels.

#### CENTRAL PROVINCE

The budget for 1948-49 shows the revenue at Rs. 18.99 crores as against the estimated expenditure of Rs. 18.79 crores. In order to augment revenues, in the coming year, the exemption list under the Sales-tax has been narrowed down, as in the case of Bombay and Madras. Besides certain suitable articles have been transferred from the ordinary to the luxury list under this tax. Other taxes are the entertainments duty at the uniform rate of 50 per cent of the ticket, a profession-tax at the rate of Rs 28 per annum upto an income level of Rs. 10,000 yearly and at Rs. 50 for income above Rs. 10,000, a registration fee of Rs. 12 per annum from money-lenders, enhancement of the taxes on motor vehicles, and the electricity duty as in the case of Bombay and Madras.

#### BIHAR AND ORISSA

Both Bihar and Orissa budgets for the year 1949-50 reveal certain common features. The estimated accounts of the two provinces show surpluses and both Provinces have introduced fresh taxation measures to augment their revenues.

In the case of Bihar, the revenue is estimated at Rs. 890.09 lakhs as against a budgeted expenditure of Rs. 876.09 lakhs. On capital account a receipt of Rs. 3039.74 lakhs as against a disbursement of Rs. 2907.09 lakhs is anticipated thus showing a surplus of Rs. 132.65 lakhs. On the side of taxation, proposals are for increasing the tax on motor vehicles, adhesive stamps, agricultural income and sales.

As regards Orissa, the budget for 1949-50 discloses an estimate of Rs. 24.40 crores under revenues and of Rs. 21.52 crores under expenditure and thus a surplus of Rs. 2.88 crores with which the current year's balance of Rs. 5.91 crores is expected to close the accounts with a balance of Rs. 8.80 crores at the end of the budget year. With a view to meet the cost of post-war schemes and other long-range requirements of the Province, proposals have been put forward to levy a tax on the sale of foodgrains at 3 pies in the Rupee, an increase in the rate of tax on retail sales of motor spirit and a super-tax on agricultural income over Rs. 25,000 a year and the taxation proposals are estimated to yield Rupees two crores.

#### EAST PUNJAB

The budget estimates for 1949-50 disclose a gap of Rs. 8.55 crores. Revenue receipts are estimated at Rs. 14.37 crores and expenditure at Rs. 22.92 crores. Out of a sum of Rs. 8.30 crores to be spent on refugee relief, a sum of Rupees seven crores is expected on this account from the Central Government and the real deficit would therefore be about Rs. 15 crores.

A survey of Provincial budgets leads us to certain general conclusions of considerable significance for the present and the future. War time inflation brought a sudden increase in Provincial revenues in terms of rupees and the inflationary conditions continue to maintain revenues at the bloated levels of the war period and all the Provinces have gone forward on the path of fresh taxes and large scale expenditure. Rising expenditure, on account of refugees, development schemes such as Grow-more Food

Campaigns, expanding social and security services are outstanding features of Provincial Budgets of 1949-50. By some means or other, the Provinces mostly show a surplus for the coming year. Though they have attempted to avoid deficits, they cannot claim to have strengthened the fight against inflation. The need for co-ordination of tax policies either among Provinces or with the Centre does not seem to have received the consideration that was insisted upon at the recent Finance Ministers' Conference about the twin objectives of combating inflation and securing co-ordination in fiscal policies. The present position requires first of all relieving the inflationary pressure, and economy in public administration. Though the liquidation of illiteracy, total prohibition etc. are unexceptionable, these schemes of social amelioration depend on a certain rate of growth of our national income and the evolution of scientific system of public finance. Small Provinces like Orissa, Assam etc. have on the whole adopted fiscal policies free from serious error. West Bengal and East

Punjab have suffered from the evils of partition which is writ large on their budgets. Among the medium-sized provinces, Bihar has made a careful and prudent management of her finances and among the bigger Provinces, U. P. has levied taxes to the tune of Rupees four crores a year and has been making annual additions to its revenue reserves. Madras and Bombay have also levied new taxes to the extent of Rupees' four crores a year and in all the Provinces, the new levies have fallen disproportionately on the sales-tax, as for example Bombay and Madras trying to cover three-fourths of the expected deficit from sales-tax. The increase in indirect taxation especially the manner in which it is now being employed is bound to affect the growth of trade and industry, and taxable capacity of the people. The present chaotic system of grants from the Centre to the Provinces, the present divisible pool of revenues between the Centre and the Provinces and the entire structure of Provincial taxation call for hard thinking and scientific reorganisation.

#### BUDGET AT A GLANCE (1949-50)

(IN CRORES OF RUPEES)

	BENGAL	BOMBAY	U. P.	C. P.	BIHAR	ORISSA	MADRAS
1. Revenue	31.83	48.81	55.73	18.49	24.40	8.90	51.75
2. Expenditure	32.94	52.79	55.58	18.79	21.52	8.76	55.66
3. Surplus (+) } or Deficit (-) } -1.11		-3.98	+0.15	0.30	+2.88	+0.14	-3.91
4. Net Tax yield } about } 1.11		4.10	Nil	.50	Nil	Nil	4.00
5. Net surplus (+) } or Deficit (-) } -		+12	+75	+20	+2.88	+0.14	+.09

# INSIDE THE RED FORT.

BY MR. N. K. HALDAR

:o:

THE recently concluded Mahatma Gandhi murder trial, which incidentally cost the Government more than Rs 5,00,000, has stirred renewed interest in Shah Jahan's Red Fort wherein was conducted for nearly 8½ months one of the most momentous and poignant criminal cases of modern times.

It was here during the historic Mutiny of 1857 that Bahadur Shah was proclaimed Emperor of Hindustan by the mutineers. Within the four walls of the citadel a few months later, he was tried by a military court on charges similar to those which confronted the three I.N.A. officers in 1945, at the close of World war II.

What is the Red Fort's history and what is its heritage? It was built in the middle of the 17th century by the Mughal Emperor, Shah Jahan, Delhi boasts of many

It is believed that under the foundation-stone of the Imperial Palace lay a solid gold model of the palace and a copy of the Holy Quran given by a Sunni Pir with the strict injunction that on the preservation of that holy book would depend the glory and continuity of the Moghul dynasty in India.

Shah Jahan secreted it along with the gold model under the foundation-stone, but Aurangzeb who knew the secret, dug it out for religious reasons, and kept it in a mosque especially built by him within the precincts of the Imperial Palace. It is well known that during his reign the Moghul Empire reached its zenith.

After Aurangzeb's death, the holy book mysteriously disappeared from the mosque and the disintegration of the Moghul Empire proceeded apace.

Much has been written about the awe-inspiring palace of Shah Jahan inside his Red Fort. One of the inscriptions on its walls reads, "a part of high heaven embellished with a hundred beauties," illustrating the ecstasy of the Court poet who beheld in it an ethereal magnificence comparable to Heaven itself. Nor was this mere poetic hyperbole. One of the two most famous palaces in the Fort is the Diwan-I-Khas (Hall of Private Audience) which, writes an enthusiast, symbolise the great Shah Jahan himself, awe-inspiring in his royal eminence, exuberant in his love of beauty and dazzling in the majesty of his imperial power. The beauty of this glorious palace lies as much in its architectonic meaning as in its architectural excellence.



A VIEW OF THE RED FORT, DELHI.

historical monuments of medieval grandeur and superb architecture but the Fort, described also as the "Heavenly Palace," is unique and legendary.

to which the purity of its marble, the perfection of its *Pietra Dura* decoration, the harmony of its rhythmic design, the grace of its colonns and the attraction of the delightful background of the river Yamuna on one side and the Palace garden on the other, all contribute.

In short, the Diwan-I-Khas is indeed a marvellous gem of Mughal art, symbolic



DIWAN-I-KHAS INSIDE THE RED FORT.  
of its royal builder's boundless magnificence  
and unstinted patronage of art and  
architecture.

There is a fairly big marble dais (takht) now removed to the eastern aisle of the hall, but which originally lay in the centre as the support for Shah Jahan's world-famed and bejewelled Peacock Throne, better known as Takht-i-taus, which cost no less than Rs. 10 million, equivalent then to £1½ million, and took seven years to complete. Among the precious stones which encrusted it was a ruby, believed to be worth a

lakh of rupees. It was first used by the Emperor in March 1636 A. D., for the New Year's day celebrations amid scenes of unexampled grandeur.

Next to the Taj at Agra, the Diwan-I-Am (Hall of Public Audience) is the best specimen of Moghul architecture, and has been immortalized in the oft-quoted inscription on one of its walls:

If Paradise be on the face of the earth,  
It is this, it is this, it is this.

It was here that the Emperor met the principal officials, nobles and ambassadors to transact weighty and confidential business of State. There he would personally write or dictate all urgent official letters, promulgate State Firman, decide the disputed affairs of the Crown demesne, award principal grants and charities, approve important architectural plans, inspect the works of the court painters and craftsmen, and, last but not least, enjoy musical entertainment in the company of select friends and courtiers.

After 300 years of fluctuating fortunes, the Red Fort still stands four-square in the capital of a new India, in the heart of a free and sovereign country, not just a relic of an age that has passed but as a reminder of India's ageless glory.

#### THE INDIAN REVIEW

"THE INDIAN REVIEW," (12 as.), published by G. A. Natesan & Co. in Madras, contains a number of interesting articles. This Review is level-headed in its policy and provides a fine example of decorous constructive journalism. Its format is neat and its proof reading is commendably good. Readers who appreciate an unbiased survey of the political panorama will find it in The Indian Review—Illustrated Weekly of India.

# Kashmir's Future—Linked-Up With India

BY MR. J NIGAM, M.A.

WITH peace once again reigning supreme in the beauteous Valley of Kashmir, things are by now clear that Kashmiris never wanted war to come and ravage their land with endless death and misery. Both by nature and temperament Kashmiris are a peace-loving people who want home-rule under their own leadership without any pressure from outside. Under the able and wise leadership of Sheikh Abdullah, who is popularly known as Sher-i-Kashmir and who is now the Prime Minister of the State, they have always stood for peace and non-violence.

To say that Kashmiris revolted against the Dogra rule and began killing and butchering their own people with the help of the tribal raiders, who gave them a helping hand to become free and accede to Pakistan is as great a myth as can ever be imagined. It was Pakistan which with lusty promises of rich loot let loose a host of tribal people led by her regular forces, to capture the land of Kashmiris and make her a scapegoat for her own exploits. How Kashmir under the leadership of the National Conference rose as one man to meet the challenge and how Indian Army came to their rescue is now history.

The glorious fight that Indian Army and State's people put against the forces of evil that threatened the very existence of the soil, forced the invaders to agree to cease-fire and honour the pledge that India signed when it conditionally accepted the State's accession. The State's accession to India or Pakistan is now a matter of the free will of the people of Jammu and Kashmir and no pressure from outside can now

intimidate with the life and honour of the Kashmiris. Kashmiris know their mind best and no fanatic propaganda can separate them from the National Conference that keeps them together. The leaders of the National Conference are all tried leaders of the people who have no axe of their own to grind. They have always stood for the honour and integrity of the State and they will rather die than see their country tottering under the menacing influence of any outside power. They have already decided that they will accede to India which can help them to develop their resources and raise the standard of their living.

Both economically and financially Kashmir is a backward country. This is not because nature ordained her to be so. Nature has been very bountiful in blessing her with all the resources that go to make a country big and prosperous. Kashmir is a big treasure-house of various kinds of important minerals and ores and if suitably explored, it can unearth some of those rare things which are the envy of the world. There is every possibility that Kashmir may have a big reservoir of petrol and a big pipe line hid in her bosom.

There is no denying the fact that if Kashmir has to make good use of her resources and if it has to liquidate her poverty, it must ally herself with a country which can deliver her goods in the minimum possible time. India is the only country which can help Kashmir in the right direction. There can be no doubt about this. Pakistan with her weak resources and equally weak capacity for a swift

industrialisation cannot pull another man's cart. She has neither the machinery nor the necessary strength to drive through this business.

India has sufficient strength to tide over her present difficulties which are mainly due to after-effects of partition.

Free India has vast resources. Her financial position is sound. Her industrial output is creditable and she has a well balanced economy. She is striving hard to work night and day to harvest the power that lies waste in her big rivers. She has already under execution very many tentative plans which will change her face altogether.

Kashmir knows that in associating herself with the mother country, she is going to have a good time. She knows also that if it basked in India's healthy sunshines, it will emerge as a great country—big and prosperous. All her poverty which clings to her like an old disease and tampers with the life of her people will be a thing of the past and she will have reason to feel proud of taking a right decision when her very existence was at stake.

Kashmiris cannot afford to take a different decision for that would amount to killing the goose that laid her golden eggs. All her trade and industry are directly connected with India. Kashmir is abundant in fruits. It prepares silk and silken cloth, saris, hand-loom cloth, costly durries and other luxury goods. All these things find their ready market in India.

Pakistan cannot even offer a fair price to all these commodities. She herself exports fruits. Only last year when she was cut off from India her fruit trade was greatly

paralysed. As costly a fruit as grapes did not get enough market in Pakistan and was sold at 2 annas a seer. Silken and other luxury goods that are so popular in India cannot find so ready a response in Pakistan where people are proverbially poor.

Kashmir attracts an unending stream of tourist traffic from India. Roughly speaking more than half the population of the Valley earn their livelihood by associating themselves with this traffic. If Kashmir joined hands with Pakistan all this will stop and this will result in great dislocation of trade and industry which will finally tell upon her people.

All these factors weigh heavily with Kashmiris. They cannot possibly damage their own cause. They have to put their house in order and they will think twice before they take a hasty step.

## SONG

BY TERENCE HEYWOOD

I know the loveliest, whitest of beaches,  
 That sleeps in tranquillity under the noon,  
 And bears in the breast of its inland reaches,  
 A blue lagoon.  
 Its wind-chiselled features by sea-spray entinctured  
 Are undulant, shapely and smooth to the eye,  
 And its bosom immaculate halo-encinctured,  
 Is bare to the sky.  
 I shall go with my love there and spend the day gazing,  
 In the lake, in her eyes, in the blueness above,  
 And into the night I shall linger there living,  
 With all I love.

# FROM MY NOTEBOOK.

BY "BEE"

## I WISH I HAD BEEN THAT BANK CLERK

Half of these stories about the prodigious fortunes made by begging are (I verily believe) misers' calumnies. One was much talked of in the public papers some time since, and the usual charitable inferences deduced. A clerk in the Bank was surprised with the announcement of a five hundred-pound legacy left him by a person whose name he was a stranger to. It seems that in his daily morning walks from Peckham (or some village thereabouts) where he lived, to his office, it had been his practice for the last twenty years to drop his half penny duly into the hat of some blind Bartimeus, that sat begging alms by the wayside in the Borough. The good old beggar recognised his daily benefactor by the voice only; and, when he died, left all the amassings of his alms (that had been half a century perhaps in accumulating) to his old Bank friend.

Was this a story to purse up people's hearts, and pennies, against giving alms to the blind?—or not rather a beautiful moral of well directed charity on the one part, and noble gratitude upon the other?

I sometimes wish I had been that Bank clerk.

—*Lamb.*

## POET AND THE FOOL

Sir, I admit your general rule  
That every poet is a fool;  
But you yourself may serve to show it  
That every fool is not a poet

—*Pope.*

## WHY BEMOAN DEATH?

What reason hast thou, O mortal, for all this exceeding sorrow? Why bemoan and bewail death? For, if thy life past and gone has been welcome to thee, why not take thy departure like a guest filled with life, and enter with resignation on untroubled rest? But if all thou hast enjoyed has been squandered and lost and life is a grievance, why seek to add more, to be wasted in its turn and utterly lost without avail? Why not rather make an end of life and travail? for there is nothing more which can continue to give thee pleasure: all things are ever the same.

*Epicurus.*

## A LAW SUIT

Tom and Bill had gone to law;  
Such a sight you never saw!  
Tom was deaf and so was Bill,  
But the judge was deafer still.  
Tom recounting all he'd spent;  
Said, 'He owes me five months' rent.'  
Bill replied, with smiling scorn,  
'Tis at night I grind my corn.'  
Then the judge, serene and bland,  
Raised a deprecating hand:  
'Why dispute with one another?  
After all, she is your mother'

—*A. C. Benson.*

## CALL A SPADE A SPADE

In literature as in life he makes himself felt  
who not only calls a spade a spade but has  
the pluck to double spades and re-double.

—*Q.*

## THE SURE WAY TO BE CHEATED

The surest way to be imposed upon is  
to think oneself cleverer than other people.

—*La Rochefoucauld.*

## • PEACE

[The simple poignant sincerity of these lines will find an echo in many hearts that have loved, lost and suffered. The poem is steeped in sentiment which however, is touched by a courage which clears it of sentimentality. The note of grief and loveliness slowly broadens down into resignation.]

• What though the world indifferent be,  
and lost

Is all the dear delight of happier  
days,

And gone the one who gave to life its  
light,

Peace has not fled. The rapture of the  
spring,

—The breathless hush of early summer  
dawns,

—The magic of the moon behind the  
hill,

—The cloistered calm of dim cathedral  
woods.....

—The eternal stillness of the shining  
stars,

—The shining beauty of untrodden  
snow,

—The brooding peace of sleeping moors  
at dusk,

These are Earth's pastures green, her  
waters still.

All that one loved is lost, but there  
remains

—Though ne'er again the path of joy  
be trod—

The Changelessness of God.''  
—Hilda Travelyan—Thompson.

## TO DO GREAT THINGS

To do great things a man must live as  
though he had never to die.

—Vauvanargues

## GLORY

To what do Caesar and Alexander  
owe the infinite greatness of their renown,  
if not to Fortune? How many men has  
she not snuffed out in the beginning of  
their career of whom we have no know-  
ledge, who brought to their work the same  
courage as they, but whose ill luck stopped  
them short at the very birth of their enter-  
prises? In the course of the many and  
extreme dangers to which he was exposed,  
I do not remember having read that Caesar  
was ever wounded. A thousand have  
fallen in lesser dangers than the least of  
those he passed through.

—Montaigne.

## ONE DISASTROUS DAY

"Now no more shall thy home receive  
thee with glad welcome, nor wife and  
children run to be the first to snatch kisses  
and touch thy heart with a silent joy. One  
disastrous day has taken from thee, luck-  
less man, all the many prizes of life." This  
do men say, but add not thereto "and  
now no longer does any craving for these  
things beset thee withal."

—Lucritius.

## MISFORTUNES

Nobody is so weak but he is strong  
enough to bear the misfortunes he does  
not feel.

—La Rochefoucauld.

## GREAT MEN

Great men owe a fourth part of their  
fame to their daring, two-fourths to their  
fortune and the remaining fourth to their  
crimes.

—Ugo Foscolo.

## THE DEEP PATHOS

The deep pathos lying in the thought of human mortality—that we are here a little while and then vanish away—that this earthly life is all that is given our loved ones and to our many suffering fellowmen—lies nearer the fountains of moral emotion than the conception of extended existence.

—George Eliot.

## NOTHING BEGINS, AND NOTHING ENDS

Nothing begins, and nothing ends  
That is not paid with moan;  
For we are born in other's pain,  
And perish in our own.

—Francis Thompson.

## KINDNESS AND COURAGE

Life is mostly froth and bubble;  
Two things stand like stone—  
Kindness in another's trouble  
Courage in our own.

—Lindsay Gordon.

## RETIRING BUSINESS MAN

He always said he would retire  
When he had made a million clear,  
And so he toiled into the dusk  
From day to day, from year to year.  
At last he put his ledgers up  
And laid his stock reports aside,  
But when he started out to live  
He found he had already died.

—Anderson M. Scruggs,  
in THE SUN (New York).

## THE DESPISEUR

He who despises mankind will never get  
the best of either others or himself.

—Toqueville.

## THE SPORT OF FATE

Here on the earth we are the sport of Fate; nay, on the earth itself we are worse off still, we are beneath the moon, and beneath the moon there is not only Fate, but something more unworthy and equally malignant—chance, to say nothing if damp and the ills of earth and bad demons.

—Gilbert Murray in  
"Greek Religion."

## THE GRATITUDE OF MEN

I've heard of hearts unkind, kind deeds  
With coldness still returning;  
Alas! the gratitude of men  
Has oft'ner left me mourning.

—Wordsworth.

## LIFE AND POETRY

All that is worth remembering in life is  
the poetry of it.

—Haslett.

## MAGNANIMITY AND PRUDENCE

Magnanimity owes no account of its acts  
to prudence.

—Vauvanargues.

## THE SERVICE AND THE STATE

You will do the greatest service to the  
State if you shall raise, not the roofs of  
houses, but the souls of citizens; for it is  
better that great souls should dwell in  
mean houses than for mean slaves to lurk  
in great houses.

—Epictetus.

## CLIMBING AND CREEPING

Climbing and creeping are done at the same  
attitude.

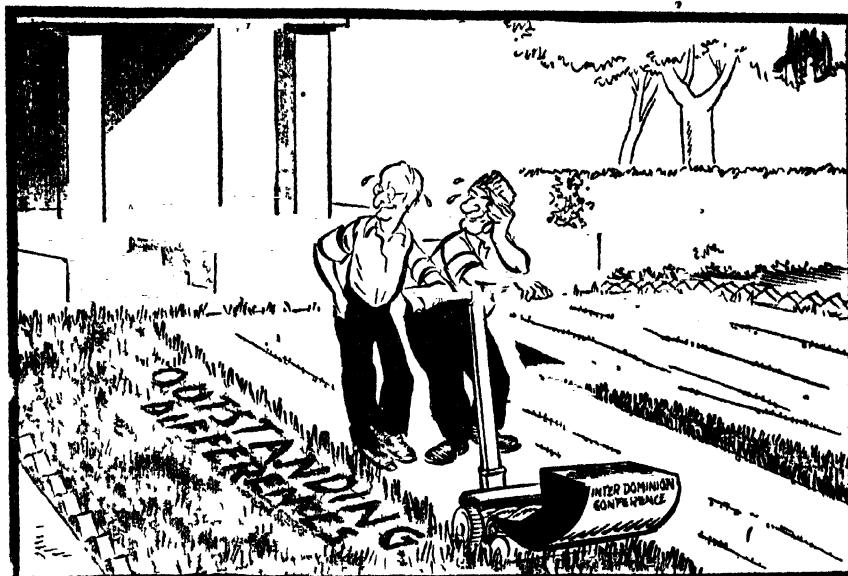
—Swift.

## HAPPY AND UNHAPPY FAMILIES

All happy families resemble one another;  
every unhappy family is unhappy in its  
own way.

—Tolstoi.

# TOPICAL CARTOONS

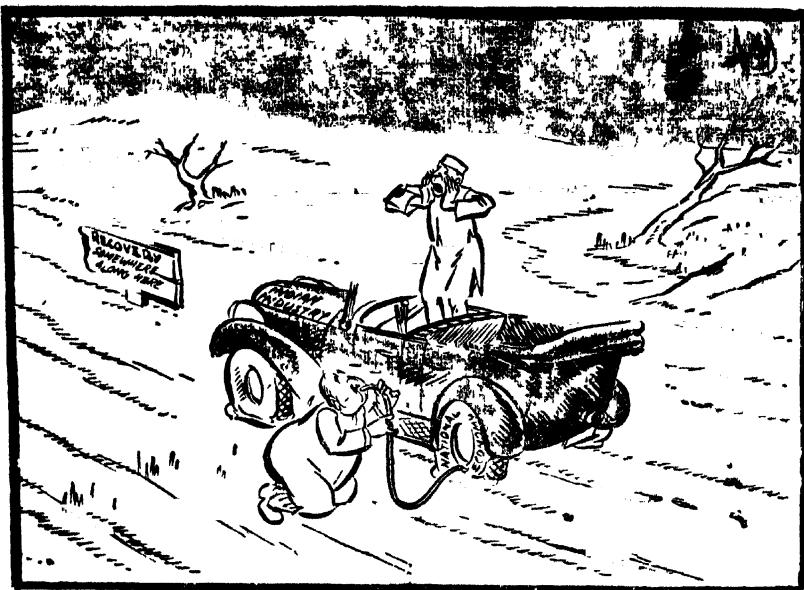


"NOT VERY MUCH LEFT NOW!"

Courtesy *The Hindu Times*.



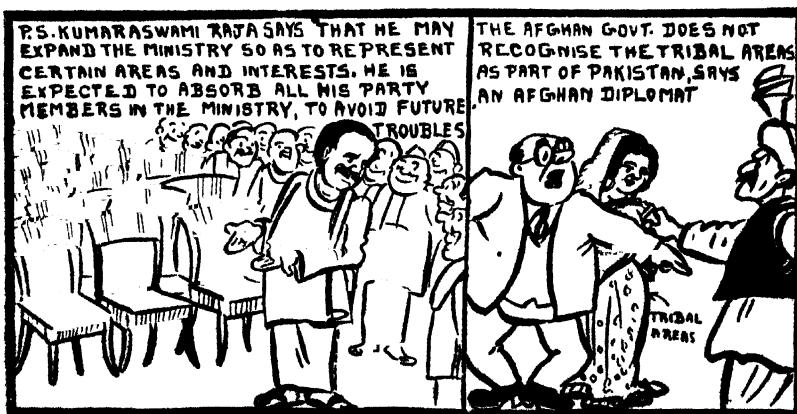
Courtesy: *Free India*.



"YOO-HOO! ANYONE GOT A PUMP?"

The Prime Minister has made a statement reassuring freedom to foreign enterprise from discriminatory restrictions and welcoming capital from abroad.

Courtesy : *The Hindustan Times*.



Courtesy : *Free India*.

# Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## The Commonwealth Agreement

THE outcome of the London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers is the settlement of a problem that has been the theme of endless discussions and consultations for several weeks past. The Agreement is satisfactory in so far as India becomes a member of the Commonwealth on her own terms. And then the Commonwealth is all the richer for the retention of a country of such potential power and importance. A new experiment in international fellowship has come into being—replacing the old Statute of Westminster—whereby "Dominions and Republics" become indistinguishable and the way opened for discussing closer ties and looser union."

According to the London Agreement India will "remain a full and equal member of the Commonwealth of Nations freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress."

The Government of India have agreed to accept the King merely as symbolic head of this "free association of independent members". The King will have no constitutional functions as far as India is concerned. The future head of the Republican India will be an elected President, who will express the sovereign will of the people and exercise the functions hitherto performed by the King.

Thus the British Crown will cease to be the ruling symbol in New Delhi and will become, for India, merely the symbol of her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. When her Republican Constitution comes into force, "India will cease to

owe allegiance to the Crown, while all the other Dominions, including Pakistan and Ceylon, will continue to owe such allegiance."

At the final plenary session of the Premiers Pandit Nehru is reported to have made a speech which left a deep impression. One of his main points is believed to have been that the Commonwealth should not be regarded as a military bloc, but should try to approach world problems in a constructive and progressive way.

Other important aspects of the declaration are as follows:

- (1) India will continue to enjoy full imperial preference to trade matters.
- (2) The word "Dominion", which has not been used officially for some time, will now be finally abandoned.
- (3) Within the Commonwealth, Indian citizens will continue to have all the rights they now enjoy.
- (4) Legislation, it is suggested, will not be needed in any of the Commonwealth countries to give the declaration full effect.
- (5) When India becomes a Republic the office of Governor-General, as representative of the King, will disappear.
- (6) The future designation of India's diplomatic representatives in Commonwealth republics—now called High Commissioner—has yet to be decided.

To a large extent the London Agreement is a personal triumph for Pandit Nehru even as it fully expresses British genius for adapting itself to new situations.

## Sir H. P. Mody, New Governor of U. P.

Sir Homi Mody, the biographer of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, is an Indian first and a Parsi afterwards. He is the last person to think of himself in terms of community but it must be gratifying to members of this important minority, that an eminent Parsi leader and businessman should have been chosen Governor of U. P. in succession to Sarojini Naidu. Sir Maharaj Singh in Bombay and Asaf Ali in Orissa are reputed members of other important minorities.

### Recruitment to the Armed Forces

Brig. Billimoria, Director, Selection of Personnel, Army Headquarters, who was addressing a Press Conference in Bombay complained that response from suitable young men for admission to the newly-started Inter-Services Wing of the Armed Forces Academy had been "disappointing," with a large number of vacancies for the training courses remaining unfilled. But what was more disturbing was the disparity of the response of the various Provinces. For example, Brig. Billimoria said:

Out of the approximately 180 cadets now undergoing training at the Inter Services Wing, over 50 were from East Punjab, about 40 from Delhi Province, and about 35 from the United Provinces, leaving about 50 only from the other large provinces of India, such as Bombay, Madras and Bengal.

Illustrating the disparity further, the Brigadier said that for the second course of the Academy, beginning in July, 1949,

out of about 300 applications received up to date, 240 were from East Punjab, Delhi, and the U. P. while only 18 were from, Bombay, 11 from Madras, 11 from Bengal, 10 from C. P. and Berar and 4 from Bihar.

If this "very serious state of affairs" continued, Brig. Billimoria said, "and over 75 per cent of Officer Candidates for the Armed Forces were recruited from Northern India

we will be faced with the problem of a martial class again, which no true citizen of India would desire in a secular State.

It is in the interest of Free India that the citizen army of the future is fully representative of all Provinces and classes of people and there is no disparity in the response to the recruitment drive of the armed forces of the country.

### Asian Nations meet in New Delhi

India is content to be left free to manage her affairs without hindrance from foreigners. Having just recovered her freedom she does not aspire to lead any more than she desires to be led. But circumstances are forcing her to take a leading part in Asian affairs. Events in Burma and China and Indonesia cannot be a matter of unconcern to us. There is trouble in all these countries and India, being comparatively free from such troubles she is looked up to for guidance and friendly counsel. She has vast resources in men and material and her statesmen have not been wanting in sagacity and goodwill. India is steadily acquiring a sort of natural leadership which she cannot afford to dispense with.

Representatives of eleven Asian countries met in New Delhi last month under the Presidentship of India's Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and reviewed the situation in Indonesia and considered the next step to be taken for a satisfactory solution of the Indonesian problem.

The conference, which was of an informal nature, became necessary, as the recent resolution of the United Nations Security Council on Indonesia, was not in conformity with the one passed on January 22 by the Asian Conference on Indonesia.

The countries represented at the conference were: Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, China, Ceylon, Egypt, Iran, Nepal, Pakistan, Siam and India.

### THIS LIMIT

The burglars were busy in the store. "Look at the price of this suit," said Bill, "Downright robbery, I call it."

### The Madras Ministry

Madras, which in the past, led the other Provinces in efficient and progressive government, has of late fallen in public esteem. It would be invidious to discuss the relative merits of the two Premiers who have successively held the position once held by C. R. and Mr. Prakasam. There is one thing in common. Mr. Kumara-swami Raja, like Mr. Reddiar owes his position to the favour of a clique which has made and unmade Ministry in the Province. The main business of the leader is to lead and if he submits himself to be led by any group however powerful, he is no more secure in his office, and the same process which helped him to power will be his undoing. Secondly the legislators themselves hardly seem to be of one mind on any matter of public importance, save the retention or dismissal of the men in their power. Until the legislators begin to think in terms of policy rather than of personalities there is little hope of good government in the Province. And then, fancy each Minister speaking his own mind irrespective of the collective view of the Cabinet. The Cabinet must work as a team, choosing its leader with discrimination and working with him loyally and faithfully. The new Premier has had fairly good experience of public life and his modesty must carry him far in enlisting the support and co-operation of those whose support and co-operation are well worth having in the interest of the government and people of this Province.

### DO YOUR BEST

Judge: "The sentence is twenty years' penal servitude."

Prisoner: "But, my lord, I won't live that long!" "Never mind, just do the best you can."

### Pandit Nehru on Foreign Investments

The Prime Minister's statement in Parliament welcoming foreign investments in India has aroused considerable interest in Britain and U. S. A. There is of course, plenty of capital in India, and if Indian businessmen are wise and patriotic they can make the best use of their capital in their own interest and in the interest of the country. But in the long term programme of industrialisation on which India is bent on launching there is ample scope for additional investments from abroad. The Prime Minister's statement is not necessarily an invitation to foreign financiers to employ their money in India in preference to Indian capital. It is to be interpreted as offering a fair field for foreign financiers if they care to take the opportunities offered by the new demands of Indian industrialisation.

The chairman of the U. S. National Association of the Manufacturers recently pointed out two conditions which are necessary to ensure the free flow of foreign capital. The capital importing country should ensure fair and non-discriminatory treatment to foreign investors and foreign capital must be protected against inadequate compensation in the case of compulsory acquisition. Pandit Nehru's statement gives ample guarantee to foreign investors on both these points.

### GLAMOR GIRL

The head of the firm was frowning over a letter. Calling for his chief clerk, he said: "That typist—you certainly didn't engage her on account of her grammar!"

"Grammar", said the other. "When you were emphasizing the importance of grammar—well, I thought you said 'glamor'!"

### Truman's Threat

President Truman's threat that he would not hesitate to use the atom bomb against the erring nation does no more than reflect the average Westerner's approach to the problem of peace. The American President is merely echoing the familiar language of Churchill and Stalin. For at bottom the temper of mind which gives vent to such language is just the same in all three. But who is to judge whether a nation's acts are righteous or wicked? Hitler had no doubt that his national socialism would save the world from the wickedness of Western democracy and he threatened the rest of the world with dire consequences. Whatever is good or bad for the nations there is no doubt that this kind of talk is one which is bound to create the very atmosphere of war. And yet the President's intention was far from aggressive. The attitude of mind betrayed by such talk is the very despair of the pacifist intent on paving the way to permanent peace. What we need is a new approach to the problems of peace, an approach which must appeal to the best instincts of men and nations, inspiring confidence and faith in one another and in the ultimate brotherhood of mankind. Hence Gandhiji's insistence on correct means for ends, however desirable in themselves.

### Eire breaks with the Crown

On April 18, Easter Monday, Eire cut off her last link with the British Crown. The ceremonial inauguration of the Republic of Eire was an impressive affair. At a Press Conference in Dublin, the same afternoon Prime Minister John Costello declared :

We now stand alone as a Nation. We have no alliances, entanglements or ties with any country in the world. But we are to be reckoned with now as an independent State, however, small we are.

Until partition goes we cannot give the full contribution we could give in economic and military co-operation in the defence of peace.

Mr. Costello said the Eire Government would be prepared to allow the people of Northern Ireland to retain their present powers of Government provided that the powers of defence and foreign affairs were in the hands of an all-Ireland Government.

Although we have severed the ties that bound us to Great Britain and the other members of the Commonwealth, we believe that what has been done to-day will ensure more cordial and closer co-operation, greater and more real friendship between Ireland, Great Britain and the other Commonwealth countries than could ever have existed under former conditions.

Mr. Eamán de Valera and members of the opposition boycotted the function, as in their view this act of complete severance would make the idea of re-union with Northern Ireland absolutely out of the question. Spokesmen of the Government on the other hand are convinced that link with the Crown has in no way helped the process of re-union and is likely to prove a hindrance rather.

### U. N. Trusteeship for Italian Colonies

India has suggested an eight-point plan for direct United Nations Trusteeship for the whole of the former Italian Colonies in Africa, with the exception of Eastern Eritrea. Addressing the General Assembly's Political Committee, Mr. M. C. Setalvad, Chief Indian delegate, called for an impartial United Nations administration outside the Big Power orbit, and devoted to the preparation of these territories for early independence.

Mr. Setalvad said India appreciated the strength of the case made out by Ethiopia for the incorporation of a part of Eritrea into Ethiopia. "In the circumstances," he said,

I would suggest that in Eastern Eritrea, including the ports of Massawa and Assab, an immediate plebiscite under the auspices of the United Nations be taken.

If the people express their will to be incorporated into Ethiopia such a decision may be given effect to.

### Journalists in Conference

South Indian journalists, meeting in Conference at Madras, were happy to have their tried and well beloved President Mr. N. Raghunathan of the *Hindu* to guide their deliberations for the fourth time in succession. That selection was a tribute alike to Mr. Raghunathan's interest in working journalists and their own appreciation of his eminent services.

Speaking of the role of the press following the achievement of freedom in India Mr. Raghunathan made pointed reference to the twin evils of scurrilous writings in newspapers and the gutter Press, battenning on group prejudices and antagonisms, communal, religious and racial. Such unhealthy developments cannot be too strongly deprecated. But he held that, while the ordinary criminal law should be rigorously enforced against all law-breakers including the erring section of the Press, nothing should be done to impede the fullest freedom of criticism unless there was imminent danger of violence resulting from the misuse of such freedom.

It was a happy augury too that the first important public gathering which the new Premier Mr. P. S. Kumaraswami Raja addressed was the conference of journalists. That is as it should be. For as the Premier rightly observed a 'fearless and independent Press, like an independent judiciary was an index of real democracy.' The press, he added, should bring home to the Government their acts of commission and omission, which required rectification.

In fact nothing can be more helpful to good government than a clean press, critical when necessary but always discerning and helpful in the larger interest of society.

### Civil War in China

The civil war in China has flared up with fresh vigour on the failure of negotiations. The Communists have crossed the Yangtse at various points and are spreading out fanwise to the South. Nanking has fallen, they have entered Taiyuan and isolated Shanghai. The defence on the mighty river has crumbled with surprising suddenness. The Nationalists have evacuated the capital and have fallen back to Hangchow, the capital of Chekiang province. The complete collapse of China seems inevitable.

What kind of Government will emerge from the civil war is a matter for speculation. Mr. Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader, has declared that

the particular task of the Chinese Communists is to unite all revolutionary forces within the whole country, to drive out the aggressive forces of American imperialism, overthrow the reactionary role of the Kuomintang, and establish a unified Democratic People's Republic.

He has denounced "foreign imperialism and native feudalism" and has called for the abrogation of all unfair treaties which China had been forced to enter into with foreign countries.

At the moment the Communists are in full command and fairly strong and popular too. Western powers can hardly afford to take liberties with new China. They will doubtless move warily seeing that new China, though Communist, will yet be undivided. A united China is a different affair to deal with and can't be tackled piecemeal. But then Chinese Communism may adapt itself to the needs of the soil and turn out a different pattern from the Soviet.

Broadly speaking, human beings may be divided into three classes: those who are toiled to death, those who are worried to death and those who are bored to death.

—Winston Churchill,

# The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**MAHATMA GANDHI.** By H. S. L. Polak, H. N. Brailsford and Lord Pethick-Lawrence. With a Foreword and Appreciation by Sarojini Naidu. Odhams Press, Ltd., Long Acre, London. Can be had of G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras, Rs. 10.8.

The publishers claim this is a complete and authoritative biography of Mahatma Gandhi yet published. No biography of Gandhiji could be complete in one volume. His long public career, crowded with so many activities and such achievements could hardly be compressed within the space of a single volume. Attempts are therefore rightly made in India to prepare a full length biography of the Mahatma, making use of all available material in the shape of innumerable sketches and studies and his own literary remains. But the book under review is certainly as authoritative a document as can be conceived. For all the three writers and the lady who wrote the Foreword were all intimately associated with Gandhiji in many of his activities and at various times. And they can rightly claim to speak with authority and personal knowledge. Gandhiji had inspired many writers among his contemporaries and the authors of this book are not the least of them. Mr. H. S. L. Polak, Mahatma Gandhi's deputy during the pre-1914 period in South Africa, writes appropriately enough of the early years. Mr. H. N. Brailsford, journalist and author, writes of him during the inter-war period. Lord Pethick Lawrence writing with the dual

authority of an old friend and former Secretary of State for India rightly observes that the world of atom bombs and perhaps bacteriological warfare 'may yet be forced to think again of some escape from self-destruction along the Mahatma's lines.'

Lord Pethick-Lawrence sums up the Mahatma's role in world history :

No one truly understands the life and thought of Mahatma Gandhi who imagines the emancipation of India from foreign rule was the main purpose of his life, or that its attainment was his greatest contribution to the land of his birth.

For his kingdom, like that of Christ or the Buddha, was not of this world. It was the moral emancipation of his countrymen and countrywomen from the sins of sloth, cowardice, malice and uncharitableness that was his overriding passion.

Nevertheless, unlike these founders of two great religions, Gandhi stepped down from the high plane of spiritual leadership to mingle in the arena of everyday affairs. In that, he more nearly resembled the Hebrew prophets who played an active part in the statecraft of their days.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who, alas has so soon followed the Mahatma, writing as friend and disciple in a foreword asks :

How, in what lexicons of the world's tongues, shall I find words of adequate beauty and power that might serve, even approximately, to portray the rare and exquisite courtesy and compassion, courage, wisdom, humour and humanity of this unique man ?

He was assuredly a lineal descendant of all the great teachers who taught the gospel of love, truth and peace for the salvation of humanity, and who was essentially akin to all the saints and prophets, religious reformers and spiritual revolutionaries of all times and lands.

**YOUNG TEACHER'S GUIDE.** By the Rev. R. Conesa S. J. Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay, price Re. 1.

This is a useful exhortative book for those who enter the teaching profession. There are six chapters, the last two being The Modern World and Modern Education, and Modern Theories of Education.

**THE WORLD AND INDIA.** By Sir C. P. Rama-swami Iyer Published by the Indian Institute of Culture, Bangalore, Re 1.

The beautifully got up little booklet under review is the substance of the two lectures delivered by the author to the Indian Institute of Culture, and they appeared first in two instalments in the *Aryan Path* January and February 1949. The first lecture "India and world culture" gives us the main characteristics of Indian Philosophy and Culture, and brings out the "ideological and material intercourse which has gone on for long centuries between India and the rest of the world. The progressive, universalistic, rational, spiritual and the humanistic ideals of Indian thought are clearly touched on and eloquently described. The fundamental unity of Indian culture is emphasised as its unique character.

**THE INDIAN CITIZEN; HIS RIGHTS AND DUTIES** By V. S Srinivasa Sastri, Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay.

The Hind Kitabs Ltd., have done very useful service to the reading public by bringing out an Edition of Srinivasa Sastri's Kamala Lectures on the Rights and Duties of the Indian Citizen. No other publication can be more opportune at a time when the constitutional Pandits of the land are engaged in forging anew the constitution of the country. The statement "every law is a veritable freedom" is upheld by Sastriar with his characteristic clearness and force of diction. The book provides good reading to the student and the citizen as well.

**OCCIDENTAL CIVILIZATION.** By G. S. Ghurye. International Book House, Bombay. Rs.20

Dr Ghurye, who is the Head of the Department of Sociology at the University of Bombay, has already shown his careful knowledge of culture and civilization in his book *Culture and Society*. In the present book he has made a wide study of the culture of the West in its various aspects. He has taken the period from 1300 to 1925 and studied the contribution of various countries to painting, sculpture, architecture, drama, opera, science, philosophy and other thought. One chapter is given to each, and after each chapter he has given a list of all the distinguished names in the various countries in that art form. His discussions are historical and critical. With such a vast theme he naturally does not go into detailed criticism. He gives only the general features of the scene. But his purpose of revealing the co-operative nature of culture he has very well succeeded in bringing out. While the chapters dealing with the different arts are full of useful information, and may even serve as a reference book, his last chapter of conclusions is full of suggestive thought. Apart from everything else, the book is revealing of international interdependence, and serves therefore the greatest need of the hour,

**INDIAN LANDSCAPE: A BOOK OF DESCRIPTIVE POEMS** by R. N. Currey, Routledge, London, price 5s. net.

These are "glittering trifles" produced by a typical British soldier in India, with sufficient "sensibility" to record his impressions of what he sees while travelling in the country. In India we conceive of poetry more devoutly than in the vein of a superficial and supercilious impressionist. The race of overweening birds of passage is bound to decline in the future.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

:o:

April 1 Sri Kumaraswami Raja elected leader of the Madras Legislative Party.

April 2 Chandranagore Assembly votes for merger with India.

April 3 Golden Jubilee of Pope Pius XII. —Governor-General gives assent to Madras Zamindari Bill.

April 4. Atlantic Pact signed at Washington by Foreign Ministers of 12 nations.

April 5. Parliament passes three non-official Bills on Marriage reforms.

April 6 New Madras Ministers sworn in. —East Punjab Cabinet resigns.

April 7. Karens surrender to Government forces in Burma.

April 8. U. N. Steering Committee accepts India's move to discuss Indonesia.

April 9. Pandit Nehru inaugurates at Delhi Indian National Commission for Co-operation with UNESCO.

April 10. Congress Executive discusses Nehru formula for Commonwealth Conference.

April 11. Deadlock in Kashmir talks.

April 12. Thakin Nu, Prime Minister of Burma arrives in Delhi.

April 13. Reports of Pakistan raid on border village.

April 14. New Ministry for East Punjab announced.

April 15. U. N. submits fresh Kashmir truce plan to India and Pakistan.

April 16. Red Peace terms in China.

April 17 Sir H. J. Kania addresses Madras Lawyers at Advocates' Association's Diamond Jubilee.

April 18. Eire cuts link with Crown.

April 19. Pandit Nehru leaves for London to attend the Commonwealth Conference.

April 20. Personnel of Fiscal Commission to review Protection policy announced.

April 21 Commonwealth Prime Ministers meet in London.

—East Punjab Cabinet formed.

April 22. Chinese President and Premier quit Nanking: Communists cross the Yangtse; Nanking falls.

April 23 Madras Premier inaugurates Southern India Journalists' Conference.

April 24 Government forces take Karen stronghold at Insein.

April 25. Dutch attack Sumatra.

April 26. Admiral Nimitz assures fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir.

April 27. London Conference of Commonwealth Premiers concludes with an agreed settlement.

April 28. U. N. Kashmir Commission presents "final terms" to India and Pakistan.

—Eire's Parliament receives Pandit Nehru.

April 29. Mr S. P. Sinha, Judge, Allahabad High Court, removed from office.

April 30. Provincial Food and Agricultural Ministers meet in Conference at Delhi.

—Reds advance in S. China; Evacuation of Hangchow.



# TOPICS From PERIODICALS



## INSIDE PAKISTAN

Alec Reid, in the concluding article of his "Report on Pakistan" in the columns of the *Hindustan Times* observes that the enthusiasm which was born of the creation of Pakistan has now cooled off and the people are now faced with grim realities of trying to make things work with a grave shortage of necessary talent.

Any country, especially a new one whose frontiers have been carved with a knife, like Shylock's pound of flesh, he says, has to face dangers on three fronts—economic, social and political. Pakistan, starting from scratch, has to build up these fronts and if the pioneering spirit, the spirit which acclaimed the entry to the Promised Land, does exist then planning should be well ahead.

I heard much of this pioneering spirit when in England during the past two years and read stories sent across to the London Press by Pakistan's many friends among English journalists and also her other admirers who broadcast very encouraging reports as to her progress. For instance, in the early days after partition, the crusaders of Mr Jinnah were reported sitting on boxes (apparently there was a great shortage of chairs) merrily plunging into their manifold tasks in the building of the new State. But judging by the present position, 18 months after, that reported pioneering spirit has cooled off somewhat and Pakistan is now faced with the grim realities of trying to make things work with a grave shortage of the necessary talent. Plans for the future are by no means in short supply but how and when they are to be carried out is another question.

But if from the start the minority had been clearly shown that they would get a square deal, if urgent efforts had been made to produce a constitution within whose framework their interests would have been safeguarded much of the present-day muddle might have been averted. From

the start, however, members of the minority (and the Hindus in particular) were damned as potential fifth-columnists and many thousands who were loath to leave what had been their homes for generations had little alternative but to seek refuge in the Indian Union. And they took with them much of the brain power that is so sadly required in Pakistan today. Those that are left, in the absence of assurances as to their future and any encouragement whatever to play their part in the building of the new State, cannot but be a drag on the wheels of progress.

I was told, when both in Western and Eastern Pakistan, in somewhat vague terms of the new Dominion developing a new brand of Socialism known as "Islamic," but since there has been no report of even a draft constitution, it is difficult to appreciate what exactly this means; and especially it is difficult to foresee the position of the Hindu minority. Does the brotherhood of the Koran embrace the unbeliever? It would clarify the position if at least this were made known.

Internally the country is being ruled by the few rather than the many, but in the main the people are not proving intractable, though elements of dissatisfaction are not lacking. These have not infiltrated from India but have grown up on Pakistan soil and until and unless the leaders realize that sometime or other there must be a reckoning, it will be difficult to produce peace and prosperity. High-handedness and Fascist shock tactics cannot hope to establish a permanently peaceful relationship. West Punjab is a case in point, where the rule of the people has been substituted by autocracy; East Bengal is in practice ruled by a handful of non-Bengali Muslims, while the Frontier is very much under British influence of a most reactionary type controlling the Ministry of Quayum.

## GO SLOW IN NATIONALISATION

“D. V. G.”, writing in the February number of *‘Public Affairs* (the Journal of the Gokhale Institute of Public Affairs) observes that there was a time when the public services of Britain were noted for their incorruptibility and public spirit. The war, did not leave that reputation as it was. There are stories of slackness to be heard long before the Bachelor-Gibson episode. Secret money is only a part of the difficulty of public management. Another fact of it is in the lack of technical competency. Business management cannot be mechanised. It needs individual gifts of insight and imagination. How will nationalization or government management ensure this?

Honesty, technical efficiency and personal vigilance are the three indispensable conditions of success in business organization, not merely from the point of view of the balance sheet, but also from that of utility to the public. The supply of these qualities cannot be unlimited for a Government in any country; and in India in any event we have every circumstance warning us that our position in this respect is very far from one warranting complacency. Our progress in nationalization therefore is not to be ordered by impatience and hurry.

The Government of India have considered not only the susceptibilities of private enterprise, but also the interests of the masses at large, in making it clear that their plan of nationalization is limited to a few specified heads, at any rate for the present, and that private capital will have a fair field for ten years at least.

Two things are clear about nationalization:

(1) It should be restricted to items of absolute necessity as judged from the point of view of the general public interested in the goods or the services of the concern in question.

Where private enterprise has given or can be made to give reasonable satisfaction, the State must not step in. Regulating private enterprise is

a different matter. When the springs of private enterprise are dried up, society can exist only as a piece of mechanism and not as a free growing organism. So maximum of private enterprise an minimum of nationalization.

(2) When nationalization is in operation even when it is properly applied, there must be the best possible kind of vigilance exercised over it by the Parliament or the responsible legislature.

Nationalization is in practice the rule of a body of Government officials. This means the addition of another Department to the bureaucratic organization of the State.

In a democratic State, the Minister responsible to the legislature for the affairs of a bureaucratic Department is often a layman. Can a layman's supervision and guidance go far enough in the field of technical business? Can he be trusted to help without becoming meddlesome? And will the Parliament, which is to control the Minister, be any less amateurish? Ill-informed and amateurish meddling is sure to ruin the business. What then is the remedy? The solution must be sought along the following lines suggested by Stephen King Hall in his recent news-letter.

At the beginning of each session (of Parliament) a Select Committee should be set up with power to send for persons and papers. There is an analogy in the Committee on expenditure which functioned during the war, although, for security reasons, some of the most interesting fruits of their labours were never exposed to the public gaze. The Select Committee on Public Corporations would have the duty of keeping the activities of these new bodies under constant review, and it would be the duty of the Committee to report periodically to the House of Commons, drawing the attention of the House to any matter which in the opinion of the Committee required publicity and debate. The main Committee would probably find it convenient to sub-divide itself into Sub-Committees each charged with the job of being the watch-dog of a particular Corporation.

Magistrate: “Can't this dispute be settled out of court?”

Both the Accused: “Certainly, Your Worship. That's just what we were trying to do, when the police interfered!”

## FRANCE AND INDIA

Louis Renou's article in *Prabuddha Bhārata* published by courtesy of the International Literary Pool, UNESCO, reveals the close link between France and India in respect of India's literary treasures. After dealing with French translators of Sanskrit works Mr. Renou goes on to observe that apart from Sanskrit works, very little—too little—has been done to make familiar in French the best of the Tamil writings as well as those in Hindi, Bengali or Marathi. "We shall soon have a partial translation of the works of Tulsi Das. So far as contemporary work is concerned, rather more has been done, but not nearly enough. Several books by Dhan Gopal Mukerji, Sarat Chandra Chatterji and, recently, a sociological novel by Mulk Raj Anand, *Coolie*, have found readers in our country and have enjoyed success. Efforts in the last thirty years have naturally been concentrated on the works of Rabindranath Tagore, in whom we have appreciated the faithful reflection of all the tendencies of the Indian mind. Much of his work has been translated in French; a fine poet, Pierre Jean Jouve, assisted by Professor Kalidas Nag, has translated *The Swan*. André Gide, one of the foremost writers of our time, and himself a Nobel prize-winner, has translated *Post Office* and *Gitanjali*. In his preface to the latter, he says,

'I have spent much longer time translating certain of these poems than Tagore spent writing them. It seemed to me that no thinker of modern times deserved more respect, I might almost say devotion, than Tagore. I took pleasure in humbling myself before him as he had humbled himself to sing before God.'

One of our recognized critics, Thibaudet, also greeted *The Home and the World*,

when it was published in French, with resounding praises."

Indian mystical theology found a genuinely interested mind in the philosopher Bergson, who tried to define the characteristics of Indian mysticism in contradistinction to Christian mysticism. "Bergson was familiar with the ancient writings in the English versions, while for modern movements he referred to the works of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda, which have been translated into French, as have the works of Aurobindo, Gandhi, and a few others, in the last few years."

The names mentioned prompt a reference to their biographer, Romain Rolland. Romain Rolland did more than anyone to disseminate the doctrines of Ramakrishna and Vivekananda in the Western worlds. "He was able to link them with the doctrines of ancient India from which they are derived and, through them, to popularize Indian thought. Those lyrical works, to which may be added the same author's book on Gandhi, are in the tradition of romantic writings. It is principally owing to them, I think, that Romain Rolland has been regarded in India as the most representative of contemporary French authors."

Not only is France, like all other Western nations, a civilized country from the material point of view, as much as, and possibly more than any other, it is a country in which intellectual values, the heritage of classical antiquity, and Christianity, have been preserved with their pristine force. In spite of decline, France is a home of literature, art, and philosophic thought. How could she fail to acknowledge the splendour of Indian culture, as she did previously, when the treasures of India's past first met her gaze?" asks the writer.

## PERSONAL AND PUBLIC CONDUCT

Emphasising that the need for adopting a higher standard of conduct is not for Congressmen alone but for every one, Sri K. G. Mashruwala writes in a recent issue of *Harjan*:

While there is enough reason for the general dissatisfaction towards the Congress organization and its members, it would be most dangerous on the part of the people and parties opposed to the Congress to suppose that Congressmen are the only people who should correct themselves in order to set the matters right in our country. The Congressmen are but a small part of the nation, and perhaps, with everything said and done, the better section of the society. As matters stand, I do not see any body which is organized on better rules of personal and public conduct than the Congress and is capable of replacing it for the better.

The very fact that the Congress organization itself lays stress on this matter and is alive to the deficiencies of its members is a great and hopeful sign. It is not unlikely that under the chastening effect of its principal leaders, it might yet shed its weakness before it is too late. But the critics who run down the Congress are likely to harm themselves by adopting a complacent attitude that their own standards of conduct are much superior or that it is the Government and the Congressmen who have to mend or end and that they have nothing to contribute.

While, therefore, I allow myself to criticize the Congress-Government or Congressmen unreservedly, when necessary, I feel no pleasure in doing so. If I have said, at

times, that the Congress will die or be ruined it is not that I wish so, or curse it. Rather, it is in the spirit of a friend and an old servant of the Congress that I make my remarks.

What is necessary for the Congress is still more necessary for the nation. Everyone of us has to adopt a higher standard of conduct. Everyone of us has to turn Godwards *i.e.* towards truth, righteousness, honesty, simplicity, cleanliness and love and regard for the comfort of others. Let it be realized that we cannot expel God from our life and yet be happy and contented.

## THE SOVIET EMIGRANTS

A valuable source of information on conditions and outlook in Russia at the present day is available in the tens of thousands who have "escaped from the Soviet Union", observes George Fischer in the *Russian Review*, published in New York. Disaffected citizens, there doubtless are, in all countries and the writers warning is important that American analysts of the emigres' evidence must be unwilling "to accept too readily whatever anti-Soviet evidence some may expect or hope to hear."

Those interviewed by the writer of the article seem to have been in agreement, however, as to widespread disaffection against the Soviet Government, found in every layer of the population, though its expression is prevented by the "ever-present and overfeared system of arrests." One gets an insight into the possible reason for the rigid control of expression by writers and artists, lest subversive ideas gain currency. A totalitarian regime has to sit on the lid very firmly or risk its own overthrow.

But the fear of Communist ideology in the West does not bespeak great confidence in the obvious superiority of the democratic pattern, as the democracies generally are unable to "come before the court with clean hands." It is the sense of one's own inadequacy or one's own shortcomings that makes competition or comparison feared.

But, as the *Aryan Path*, truly points out, it is a grievous mistake to look with apprehension and resentment at the people of any country, above all a totalitarian country, for the sins of omission or commission of its ruling.

The Russians, like the Indians, like the Americans or the French or the English, are people, a mixture of good and bad, wisdom and folly, selfishness and readiness to sacrifice oneself, and the sooner people generally learn this and so rise above national less than creeded or racial labels, the better for mutual understanding and peace and for triumph of the universal brotherhood of man.

### THE CIVIL SERVICE IN FREE INDIA

In England and other parliamentary countries the Civil Service is a purely administrative body. The Ministers who are leaders of public opinion lay down the policy of the Government and it is implicitly carried out by the Civil Servants. Of course in actual practice the long experience and expert knowledge of Civil Servants may indirectly contribute to policy-making.

In India, during the British rule the Civil Servants, were performing functions which were incompatible with democratic principles says Mr. R. J. Venkateswaran in the March *New Review*.

Up to 1921, the position of the Civil Service was that of a governing corporation. With the exception of the posts of the Viceroy, the governors of Bengal, Bombay and Madras and the chief justices of the High Courts, all the senior appointments were held by the members of the Civil Service. All the lieutenant-governors were I.C.S. officers. They also directed and con-

trolled the public works department, forest administration, police and other technical services. As the Montague-Chelmsford Report said, "The I.C.S. has been in effect much more of a government corporation than a pure civil service in the English sense."

Having thus enjoyed unlimited powers for a long time, it was but natural that the I.C.S. should feel nervous when the Reforms were published. They tried their best to whittle down the Reforms and formed associations 'to protect their interests' by the same kind of methods as those by which Trade Unionists in England band themselves together to protect their own interests'.

The Reforms of 1919, however, actually strengthened the Services. The Ministers were given no control over them in the matter of postings, promotion and discipline. All these functions were taken over by the governors although the Act did not empower them to do so. Even after the introduction of provincial autonomy, the civil servants continued to enjoy enormous powers and privileges.

But all this has changed with the attainment of independence. The civil service has ceased to govern. It has become a purely administrative body.

Its members have realised the significance of the change and have adjusted themselves to the new environment. But they can discharge their duties efficiently and in the best interests of country only if they are freed from the irritating interference of party politicians.

### CHEAPER

It was a very dissatisfied tenant who approached the landlord of the new house.

"Look here," he said, "that house I've just taken from you is horribly draughty. I've spent pounds on heating arrangements, but wherever I sit my hair is blown all over my head. Can't you do something about it?"

The landlord shook his head.

"I'm afraid not," he replied. "I think it would be easier and cheaper for you to get your hair cut."

## BOOK KNOWLEDGE IN SPIRITUAL LIFE

"Experience" said Swami Vivekananda, "is the only teacher we have. We may talk and reason all our lives, but we shall not understand a word of truth, until we experience it for ourselves. You cannot hope to make a man a surgeon by simply giving him a few books. You cannot satisfy my curiosity to see a country by showing me a map; I must have actual experience. Maps can only create curiosity in us to get more perfect knowledge. Beyond that, they have no value whatever. Clinging to books only degrades the human mind. Was there ever a more horrible blasphemy than the statement that all the knowledge of God is confined to this or that book? How dare men call God infinite, and yet try to compress Him within the covers of a little book!"

Books have become an unhealthy obsession with us, observes "Jibendra" in the *Vedanta Kesari*. We waste time in reading and discussing them while the hour for spiritual practice goes by. "Constant pre-occupation of the mind with one's own thoughts or those of others embodied in books hermetically seals it against the descent and reception of truth, light, knowledge, power from above—a descent which can only take place in a quiet, peaceful and silent mind and not in a mind which is ever active, restless and pre-occupied."

If books made men better, changed their lives or widened their hearts, the world would be an altogether different place to live in from what it is to-day. The fact that it is not so is proof positive of the inadequacy of mere book learning for the

purpose of spiritual life. "Books may act as an incentive to higher life by stimulating the intellect a little. They have therefore an intellectual but not a spiritual value.

"In spiritual life the object is to realise the spirit, the Atman, as the fundamental truth of our existence—not merely know or apprehend intellectually—and this can only be done by a spiritual living."

## SPORTS AND THE NATION

In an article on Sports and the Nation, published in the *Bulletin of Physical Education* of Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo stresses the need and utility of sports for the nation.

Sports, he says, are valuable not only for building the foundation of health, strength and fitness of the body but also for fostering the qualities of discipline, courage, hardihood, steadiness of action, sportsmanship, and high morale, which are greatly needed and of the utmost service to the nation in war or in peace.

Concluding the article, Sri Aurobindo observes:

I need not enumerate, the other benefits which can be drawn from the training that sport can give or dwell on their use in the national life. In our universities, sports have now a recognised and indispensable place; for even a highest and completest education of the mind is not enough without the education of the body. When the qualities I have enumerated are absent or insufficiently present, a strong individual will or a national will may build them up, but the aid given by sports to their development is direct and in the way negligible. This would be a sufficient reason for the attention given to them, in our Ashram, though there are others which I need not mention here. I am concerned here with their importance and the necessity of the qualities they create or stimulate for our national life. The nation which possesses them in the highest degree is likely to be strongest for victory. Success and greatness but also for the contribution it can make towards the bringing about of unity and a more harmonious world order towards which we look as our hope for humanity's future.

## NO TIES

"There's one thing about you men who wear open necked shirts. You always seem to be so free."

"We are. We haven't any ties."

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

## South Africa

### RACIAL TROUBLE IN S. AFRICA

Mr. M. T. Naidu, a member of the Executive of the South African Indian Congress who has been appointed to advise the Indian delegation to the United Nations in the South African dispute, was born in Durban and has lived there all his life. In the course of an interview in New York he observed:

"The condition of Indians in South Africa has been deteriorating for the past 18 months and is rapidly worsening. We attribute the present situation in South Africa on the racial question to the policies which the Nationalist Government is following at present.

The racial disturbances that occurred in Durban recently seem likely to be repeated. The Government are going ahead with their policy that continues to sharpen racial, and particularly anti-Indian feeling. The Indian population of South Africa is anxious that the United Nations should find some method for taking a forward step on the 1946 resolution adopted by the United Nations General Assembly on the treatment of their nationals in the Union. There seems no way of influencing the South African Government by any internal appeal," he continued.

"The only way seems to be for world opinion to get South Africa to change her racial policies. Speaking from my own experiences I can see the racial difficulties that exist in South Africa."

### ECONOMIC PRESSURE ON S. A. INDIANS

Mr. George Singh, Durban Attorney, who has been appointed to represent the 282,000 Indians of South Africa at the United Nations Assembly, said in London that they had no future in South Africa.

"There is grave danger," he said, "that their moral character will crack very soon. Until recently, it has been very high, but the situation, politically and economically, has deteriorated very seriously.

Dr. Malan's Government is pursuing a policy of squeezing the Indian out of South Africa. The only possible country to which they can go is India. All other countries have refused to take them in.

About half of the 282,000 Indians live in Durban. Of these, roughly 70 per cent. live below the poverty line according to the official statistics of the Natal University College.

The South African Government used to offer a bonus of £20 to every Indian who returned to India. They now offer £40. That is a lot of money to an Indian working class family with an average of four children.

I don't think many Indians will return to the land of their forefathers; yet there is every temptation to find a new home away from South Africa. The African native populations are being urged to boycott them. The Government still closes its eyes to the racial propaganda."

Economically, the Indian is being throttled,

## Ceylon and the Far East

### INDIAN INVESTMENTS ABRQAD

Dr B V Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament that the investments of South Indian Chettiar in Ceylon, Malaya and Indo-China were estimated at Rs 5 crores, and Rs. 214 crores respectively.

Replying to Mr Brajeshwar Prasad, Dr Keskar added that Chettiar also owned about three million acres of paddy land in Burma, but they had no investments in Siam.

As regards their investments in Burma, no reliable information was available. The Government of India were negotiating with the Government of Burma with a view to securing for the Chettiar equitable compensation for their lands which the Government of Burma proposed to take over under the Burma Land Nationalisation Act.

## South-West Africa

### TRUSTEESHIP FOR S. W. AFRICA

Dr. B. V. Keskar, Deputy Minister for External Affairs, said in Parliament in reply to Mr. Lakshminarain Sahu that the Government of India were strongly of the United Nations' General Assembly's recommendation that South-West Africa be placed under a Trusteeship system should be given effect to.

India's representatives would press for this in the General Assembly whenever the question was considered, he added.

"Travelled all over the World, eh ? Went up the Rhine of course ?"

"Climbed it to the top."

"Saw the Lion of St. Marks ?"

"Fed it."

"And visited the Black-Sea ?"

"Filled my fountain pen there."

## Sumatra

### DUTCH MURDER OF INDIANS

The Government of India has made a strong protest to the Netherlands authorities against the shooting of three Indians by Dutch paratroopers on December 30 last at Djambi in Sumatra.

The Government received information of the incident through their Consul-General in Batavia. The Indians were shot dead after their houses had been ransacked.

The Government of India's protest has been lodged with the Far East Office of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Batavia.

Meanwhile the External Affairs Ministry has requested the Dutch Ambassador in Delhi to make enquiries and ascertain the facts.

## Brazil

### INDIAN COLONIZATION IN BRAZIL

Indian Ambassador to Brazil Mr. M. R. Masani in a recent speech expressed satisfaction with regard to a proposal covering Indian immigration and colonization in Brazil, which he said "will be a happy solution to the problem of low population in one country and over-population in another country."

Mr. Masani added that, if the project is completed, Indian immigrants will come to Brazil "with the intention of becoming assimilated into Brazilian life and will become good Brazilians."

### PUZZLED

A Young wife, wishing to announce the birth of her first child to a friend in a distant city, telegraphed: "Isaiah 8, 6," which passage begins: "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given."

Her friend, unfamiliar with the scriptures, said to her husband: "Margaret evidently has a boy who weighs nine pounds and six ounces, but why on earth did they name him Isaiah ?"

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

### WORK OF NATIONAL PLANNING

The Congress Working Committee meeting at New Delhi on April 5 expressed its "high appreciation of the good work done by the National Planning Committee".

The Working Committee adopted a resolution accepting the National Planning Committee's proposal to maintain an up-to-date series of reports on various phases of National Planning.

This work will necessitate full co-operation with the Central and Provincial Governments and more especially their statistical department.

In order to draw up a scheme for the continuation of this work a Committee consisting of the following is constituted:—

The President of the Congress, the Prime Minister of India, the Minister for Industry and Supply of the Government of India, Mr. J. C. Ghosh, Mr Ambalal Sarabhai and Prof. K. T. Shah.

The Committee shall be called National Planning Series Committee. Prof. Shah will be the Secretary of this Committee and will be in charge, on behalf of the National Planning Committee, of the office and funds of the Committee. It will continue to function till effect is given to any new scheme that may be evolved.

The Planning Committee, appointed by the Congress ten years ago, having completed its work, dissolved itself at the end of last month.

### LINGUISTIC PROVINCES

The Congress Working Committee has accepted the report of the Jawaharlal-Vallabhbhai-Pattabhi committee recommending the postponement of the formation of linguistic provinces for a few years, "so that we might concentrate during this period on other matters of vital importance and not allow ourselves to be distracted by this question."

The Committee adds that if public sentiment is "insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole."

The Committee, however, feel that the case of Andhra Province should be taken up first and the question of its implementation examined "before we can think of considering the question of any other province."

### NATIONAL CULTURAL TRUST

A scheme for the establishment of a National Cultural Trust for India has been accepted in principle and its details are being worked out by the Ministry of Education.

This information was given by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of the Government of India, replying to a question in Parliament. It was proposed to undertake preliminary work in connection with the Trust and to call three conferences of experts.

## UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

### PANDIT NEHRU ON INDIA'S ROLE

Addressing a Press Conference at Government House, Bombay, on the eve of his departure to London on April 19, Pandit Nehru said :

I have always sought the goodwill, affection and co-operation of the Indian people and always obtained it in a generous and abundant measure. If I have achieved anything in life, it is because of that affection and goodwill. I feel now that at no time was this goodwill and affection more necessary than at the present moment when I am on the point of planning for the West to consider problems which affect the present and the future.

During the past years we, all of us, in India, have been partners in the making of history and history has marched with giant strides in this country, in Asia and the World. History is still in the process of being made and there are mighty movements and considerable turmoil and conflicts in the World.

Free and independent India faces this prospect with a measure of confidence. We have to a large extent found ourselves and we have survived many perils and dangers and this has bred confidence in us to face the future.

I have little doubt that in this future India has to play an important role, provided always that she adheres to the great ideals which have inspired us in the past and to the lessons which the Father of the Nation taught us. "Our very position demands a wider appreciation of what is happening in the world and an acknowledgment of our duties and our obligations to further world peace and progress.

The immediate object of my going to England is to discuss the future association of India with the Commonwealth countries. I have already, in Parliament and in open Congress and elsewhere, discussed this matter with frankness and stated what our fundamental position is. I shall abide necessarily with the directions given to me on this subject and equally necessarily by the ideals which have inspired us.

In regard to our foreign policy, we have repeatedly stated that we cannot align ourselves with power blocs hostile to each other. This is not merely a policy of neutrality, but is a positive approach to the problems of the world in the hope that we might further the cause of peace and friendship between nations. I believe India can be of service not only to India and Asia but to the world in this matter. It is with this background that I have tried to approach all our foreign problems.

History is on the march and we have to keep in step with it, at the same time trying to mould it and fashion it to the best of our ability. Ultimately the policy of a nation depends upon her inner strength. It is because our inner strength has grown and because of our great potential,

which will progressively become actual, that India counts more and more in the counsels of the world.

Recently I was reported, by some error, in a London newspaper as having said that there is no morality as between nations. As a matter of fact, I hold strongly to the opinion that unless there is a moral basis, both to the internal politics of a nation and to its external affairs, that nation will suffer and the world will suffer. I hope that whatever happens, India will never do anything that is wrong morally even though some misguided people might think it is advantageous for the moment.

And so, for the present, I bid a brief goodbye, conscious that I am not going abroad as a mere individual but as a representative of a great nation with the goodwill of millions and with the desire to approach other nations in a spirit of friendship and co-operation. *Jai Hind.*"

### MR. CHURCHILL'S BOSTON SPEECH

Speaking at Boston (Massachusetts) on March 31, Mr. Winston Churchill said that an outstanding feature of the 20th century had been the enormous expansion in the number of people who were able to share in the "larger and more varied life" previously reserved for the very few.

If we are to bring the broad masses of the people in every land to the table of abundance, it can only be by the tireless improvement of all our means of technical productions, and by the diffusion, in every form of education, of an improved quality to scores of millions of men and women.

Even in this darkling hour I have faith that this will go on.

Britain's wartime Prime Minister declared :

We are now confronted with something quite as wicked but in some ways more formidable than Hitler.

Mr. Churchill urged the utmost vigilance in the present cold war, but did not think that violent or precipitate action should be taken now. "War is not inevitable." Often something happened to turn or mitigate the course of events. Hope or patience need not be abandoned.

If however there is to be a war of nerves, let us make sure our nerves are strong, and are fortified by the deepest convictions of our hearts.

### INTER-DOMINION AGREEMENT

Agreement was reached in respect of the majority of 27 items considered at the three day Inter-Dominion Conference which concluded its deliberations at Delhi on April 4.

Among the more important items on which agreement was reached were those relating to the payment of pensions and cash certificates. The Conference also agreed to set up a machinery to ensure prompt payment of pensions, provident funds and security deposits of provincial and State Government servants who had left one Dominion for the other.

The Conference further agreed to set up a machinery to consider matters, such as border incidents, which do not fall within the sphere of the Partition Committee of East and West Punjab, and to implement decisions reached on such items.

### CONSTITUTION OF STATES

The constitution of Indian States is likely to form an integral part of the Indian Constitution as a result of agreement reached between the Government of India and representatives of Indian States, it is learnt.

This will eliminate the need for each State debating and passing a separate Constitution through its own Constituent Assembly. The States Constituent Assemblies will presumably function as interim Legislative Assemblies until new Assemblies are elected under the new Indian Constitution.

It is believed that the Indian Constitution, which is expected to be passed by

August 15 1949, will have a separate chapter devoted to the Constitution of States just as in the case of the Provinces. One important effect of this decision will be that the difference in the status of Provinces and acceding States will be further narrowed down.

### LOCAL FINANCE ENQUIRY

The Government of India have constituted a committee known as the Local Finance Enquiry Committee, to enquire into the question of the finances of local bodies and make recommendations for the improvement of local finances.

The Committee will examine (1) whether the existing resources are adequate for the performance of the functions assigned to the local bodies and consider what further sources of revenue should be provided, (2) the methods of Government assistance to local bodies, and (3) the existing machinery and methods of assessment and collection of taxes.

Mr. P. K. Wattal has been appointed Chairman and Mr. Labu Ran Mehra Secretary of the Committee, which consists of eight other members.

### BIRBAL SAHNI

India has lost one of its greatest men of science in the death of Dr. Birbal Sahni, Head of the Department of Botany and Dean of the Faculty of Science, Lucknow University. Wherever botany is studied his name is held high. His outstanding contributions to the subject not only won him international fame but raised India's status in the world of science.

## EDUCATIONAL

### MEDIUM IN UNIVERSITIES

The Education Minister, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in a written reply said in Parliament that the Government of India had not yet reached any final decision on the report of the Committee on the Medium of Instruction and were awaiting the views of the University Commission expected in September next.

The Committee on the Medium of Instruction had recommended that steps should be taken during the next five years for the gradual replacement of English as the medium of instruction and examination at university stage, by the language of the State, Province or region, he said.

The Central Advisory Board of Education had resolved that the final decision on this recommendation should await the report of the University Commission.

The Nagpur University had proposed to introduce Hindi and Marathi as the media of instruction in the first year class of colleges from July 1949 and extend their use to higher classes year by year. The Annamalai University had introduced Tamil as the medium of instruction in the intermediate art courses.

The Benares University had decided that Hindi should be additional medium of instruction in all subjects except English and modern Indian languages in Inter and B.A. classes, and from 1950 Hindi alone would be the medium of instruction for those students whose domicile was Eastern Punjab, United Provinces, Central Provinces, Bihar and Rajasthan. The Calcutta University had allowed students to answer question papers either in English or in their mother tongue.

### GOVERNMENT'S AID TO UNIVERSITIES

During the question-hour in Parliament on April 5, the Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, replying to a question as to what steps were being taken to stimulate scientific research in the Universities, specially in Atomic Physics, said that the universities had the dual function of training scientific workers and of conducting fundamental and applied research.

The Government of India, he added, were stimulating scientific research in the universities by (1) sanctioning grants-in-aid for buildings and equipment required for research, the expansion of special Research Departments and the conduct of approved research schemes; and (2) the discovery and training, of talented persons through post-graduate schemes and fellowships. Grants-in-aid totalling over Rs. 28 lakhs have been sanctioned for the purpose during 1948-49.

Fellowships have been awarded for research in Nuclear Physics. A National Professorship of Physics has been created at the Indian Academy of Science, Bangalore.

### UNIVERSITY FOR KARNATAKA

The Premier of Bombay, Mr B. G. Kher, introduced in the Bombay Legislative Assembly on April 4, a bill to establish a University for Karnataka. The Premier said the University would come into being in 1950 and its jurisdiction would extend to the districts of Belgaum, Bijapur, Kanara and Dharwar.

Mr. Kher said that the establishment of the University would fulfil a longfelt need and a pressing demand of the people of Karnataka.

**LAWYERS' ROLE IN FREE INDIA**

Inaugurating the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Madras Advocates' Association on 15th April, the Chief Justice of Madras, Mr. P. V. Rajamannar, suggested the creation by the Government, of a separate Department for conducting juristic studies and social inquiries, which he said should precede legislation.

Legislation, he added should never be the result of mere one-sided lobbying.

The Chief Justice said that the Department should be a body of experts both for long-range investigation, and for dealing with the day to day complaints and defects in the actual operation of the laws, and for making proposals for improvement.

The important role of lawyers in guiding Democracy on right lines was emphasised by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar in the course of an address he delivered on the second day of the celebrations.

The members of the Association presented an address of felicitation to Mr V. V. Srinivasa Iyengar, one of the seniormost members of the profession, who completes the 51st year of his legal practice.

• Sir Harilal Kania, Chief Justice of India, in a thought-provoking address on the concluding day dealt with the problems confronting lawyers in India.

Sir Harilal placed before the lawyers the ideal of service and defence of right, fearless of consequence, and urged them to do all they could to stabilise the freedom of Independent India.

Stressing the need for having an independent judiciary, Sir Harilal expressed the hope that the oft-repeated assurances

of politicians and public men in this connection would soon be "translated into action in the Constitution Act."

The Chief Justice of India cautioned against hurry in regard to a change-over from English as the language of courts and said that the problem of language of courts was not acute, and, if they wanted to avoid inconveniences, this was not a sphere in which impatience could pay.

**FREE LEGAL AID FOR THE POOR**

The All-India Progressive Lawyers Association has set up a Free Legal Aid Bureau in Delhi for the benefit of the poor. The Bureau, which is the first of its kind to be set in India, will provide free legal aid to political workers and others, who are unable to secure legal advice, provided that they are not charged with communal offences, offences relating to sex, theft and bribery.

**PUNISHMENT FOR FOOD OFFENCES**

The Indian Parliament passed on April 5 the Essential Supplies (Temporary Powers) Amendment Bill, which replaces the ordinance which has been in force for six months. The Bill makes the punishment of imprisonment obligatory in respect of food offences except when the court for reasons to be recorded in writing is of the opinion that in the circumstances of the case imprisonment is not called for.

In addition, the Bill also empowers courts to order the forfeiture of the vehicle or vessel used for smuggling.

## TRADE AND FINANCE

### FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

The Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru making his long awaited policy statement on the participation of foreign capital in India said in the Dominion Parliament on April 6 that as regards the existing foreign interests, "Government do not intend to place any restrictions or impose any conditions which are not applicable to similar Indian enterprise."

Pandit Nehru added: "Government will so frame their policy as to enable further foreign capital to be invested in India on terms and conditions that are mutually advantageous."

Pandit Nehru said that foreign interests would be permitted to earn profits, subjects only to regulations common to all.

If and when foreign enterprises were compulsorily acquired, the Prime Minister said, compensation would be paid on a fair and equitable basis as already announced in Government's statement of policy.

The Prime Minister made a special reference to British Interests in India and assured them that although it was the policy of the Government of India to encourage the growth of Indian Industry and commerce, there was and would still be considerable scope for the investment of British capital in India.

He added: "The Government of India have no desire to injure in any way British or other Indian interests in India, and would gladly welcome their contribution in a constructive and co-operative role in the development of India's economy."

### SETTLEMENT OF PAKISTAN'S DEBT

The amount outstanding in respect of Burma's separation debt and share of the pensionary liability to India was in the order of Rs. 64.5 crores and Pakistan's partition debt to India had not yet been worked out and it would be some time before this was done, said Dr. John Matthai, Minister for Finance, in the Dominion Parliament.

The Finance Minister further informed the House that Pakistan was due to repay her debt in 50 equated instalments commencing from August 15, 1952. Burma's separation debt was repayable in 45 years commencing from 1937-38 and her share of the pensionary liability was to be paid currently. The payments had remained suspended from 1942-43 and the question of resuming them was under discussion with the Government of Burma.

### LIMITATION OF DIVIDENDS

The Parliament passed the Finance Minister's Public Companies (Limitation of Dividends) Bill which limits the dividends which may be paid by public companies to six per cent of the paid-up capital or the average annual dividend between Apr. 1, 1946, and Mar. 31, 1948, whichever is higher.

The Bill, which is an anti-inflationary measure, will expire on Mar. 31, 1950. The Finance Minister assured the House that if early next year it was found that a measure of this kind was not necessary, Government would not extend the duration of the Act.

**ABDUCTED NON-MUSLIM WOMEN**

"Government have received reports that a number of abducted non-Muslim women have been taken over the Pakistan border into Afghanistan," said Mr. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, Minister, in reply to Gian Gurumukh Singh Musafir, in Parliament.

Mr. Ayyangar added that the matter had been taken up with the Afghan Government during June 1948 and they had repeatedly given their assurance to help India as far as possible in the recovery of abducted women from areas under their control. "As the task of locating the abducted women is fraught with many practical difficulties, it will take some time before any tangible results are achieved."

**WORKING WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION**

With a view to promoting the welfare of working women, assisting them in choice of a profession and finding employment for them and promoting their interest in professional work, a number of Patna lady teachers, doctors, nurses and other working women have formed a "Working Women's Association". Courses of lectures on hygiene and home nursing are being organised by the Association in different Mohallas.

**WOMEN FOR JUDICIAL SERVICE**

Women have been made eligible for recruitment to the Judicial Civil Service in the United Provinces, according to a Gazette notification published in Allahabad.

The notification amends the U. P. Civil Services Judicial Branch Recruitment Rules to make women eligible for recruitment to this service.

**HEALTH OF GIRLS IN COLLEGES.**

There are now a few hundreds of girls studying in various colleges of Nagpur. The average college girl is really a sight. With the exception of a few, most of them are far from robust, writes Prof. M. G. Dharamraj in the course of an article in *Nagpur, Times*.

I don't think the university or the colleges could be blamed for their physical condition, he adds. The girls, especially those studying in co-educational institutions, do not get all the facilities for games and physical recreation. Even when they get the facilities, the general atmosphere is not free enough for them to take full advantage of them. Even in the Central College for Women, apart from the Hostel girls, the day scholars do not get much by way of physical exercise, except for what movement of the body is afforded by the bus that takes them to and fro. The medical report of the girls of the university is far from flattering.

**WOMEN'S ARMY CORPS FOR SWITZERLAND**

The Government of Switzerland, whose women have neither franchise nor the right to hold public office, last month took the revolutionary step of announcing the formation of a Voluntary Women's Army Corps, whose duties will include anti-aircraft service. The Corps is to be formed immediately and women between the ages of 20 and 40 will be eligible. In the event of war, the age limit will be raised to 60.

## GENERAL

### NEW MINISTRY FOR MADRAS

A 10-man Ministry for Madras headed by Mr P. S. Kumaraswami Raja was sworn in on April 6 by H. E. the Governor at the Secretariat. Mr. N. Sanjiva Reddy and Mr B. Parameswaran have been taken into the Cabinet while Mr. T. S. Avinashilingam Chettiar, Mr. V. Kurmayya and Dr. S. Gurubatham have been left out.

Mr. Raja making an announcement earlier said that he proposed to have "a few more Minister's shortly to represent certain areas and interests".

Accordingly, as we go to press, Mr. C. Perumalswami Reddiar has been sworn in.

### DR. PATTABHI VISITS EYE INSTITUTE

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, President of the Indian National Congress, recently visited Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute at 15, Daryaganj, Delhi. He saw the patients suffering from various eye troubles practising the novel methods of treatment under the care of Dr. Agarwal and highly appreciated the synthetic eye treatment which is practised in this institute. Recounting how his own wife had benefitted from this latest system based on the research of Dr. Agarwal, Dr. Pattabhi said, "My wife suffering from the paralysis of the External Rectus of the left eye and therefore from 'diplopia' (double vision) has got over her trouble by a steady pursuit of the regimen prescribed by Dr. Agarwal and she bears witness to the many cures of obstinate and obscure eye complaint under the roof of the doctor's clinic."

### NEW EAST PUNJAB CABINET

The nine-day old Sachar Cabinet was reconstituted on April 21 by the inclusion of three new Ministers.—Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, Mr. Prithvi Singh Azad and Sardar Gurbachan Singh Bajwa.

After the swearing-in ceremony, Mr. Bhimsen Sachar told the Associated Press of India that the relations between the old and new Ministers were not only cordial, but definitely influenced by considerations which were of the highest order—namely the interests of the province.

### GANDHI FUND

An event described by Dr. Rajendra Prasad as without parallel took place at Sardar Patel's residence at New Delhi on April 16 when, at a simple but dignified function, the Industrial Committee of the Gandhi Memorial Fund presented to Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of the Fund, cheques for over Rs. 5 crores, representing collections made since last May when Sardar Patel called leading industrialists to Mussoorie and fixed the target of Rs. 5 crores as their contribution to the Fund.

The importance of the occasion was further heightened by Dr. Prasad's announcement that public subscription to the Fund had also touched the figure of Rs. 5 crores.

### C. R.'s. GOOD CONDUCT PRIZE

His Excellency Mr. Rajagopalachari, Governor-General of India has instituted a good conduct prize to be awarded annually from the year 1949-50 for the best behaved student in the Salem Municipal College.

# THE INDIAN REVIEW

A MONTHLY PERIODICAL DEVOTED TO THE DISCUSSION OF ALL TOPICS OF INTEREST

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## The Place of Religion in a Secular State

BY MAHAMAHOPADYAYA DR. P. K. ACHARYA, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., I.E.S

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A distinguished philosopher Dr. Radhakrishnan (as reported by the Associated Press and published in the *Leader*, March 14, page 6) has been taking pains to explain in all educational centres, the policy of the independent Indian Government to evolve a State wherein religion should not be the primary outlook of human life. A curious definition has been advanced: "Secularism means the adoption of the scientific (?) spirit. It means the absence of religious arrogance or dogmatism, an attitude of impartiality so far as different religions are concerned, equality of opportunity for all religions and not dogmatizing for any one religion. Again, secularism means that the world is not to be regarded as an illusion: it is not to be dismissed as a dream. It does not mean that one would be non-religious or dogmatically religious." Therefore, the learned thinker concludes that "the secular state is the most fertile ground for the material and spiritual progress of modern humanity."

The dictionary meaning of the term 'Secularism' is, however, the "supreme attention to the things of the present life." It is complete "worldliness." The atheist

tic school of philosophers, known as the *Charvakas* (talkers of sweet words) asserts 'that soul is not different from body and that the phenomena of the world are spontaneously produced.' It follows, therefore, that everything ends with the mortal body and nothing remains after death, for the benefit of which anything has to be done in this life and in this world." Thus in the absence of any creator and any possibility of accounting for our deeds in this world before an infallible and all-knowing Supreme Judge in the next world one can indulge in eating and drinking or enjoying worldly pleasure at any cost without any fear of the consequences because life ends here completely. And these atheists reject all sources of true knowledge *vis*, faith (sabda), inference (anumana) and analogy (upamana) and accept only sense perception (pratyaksha). The limit of sense perception, is, however, very short and defective. By this source of knowledge one cannot be sure that he was born of his own parents. Faith and belief in a supreme Creator are therefore superfluous. Indeed, Kanada advanced the doctrine of atoms which are uncaused and eternal. Thus godless scientists evolve

the creation of the world and 'all its creatures by the permutation and combination of these atoms which are further analysed into electrons.

The State which is determined to secularize its activities has, therefore, to endeavour "conversion from religious to materialistic progress." It follows logically and inevitably that one would be non-religious completely. The spiritual thinker of the Hindu creed does not regard the world "as an illusion" nor does he 'dismiss it as a dream.' To him the world is as real as he himself is. But the creator, God, is the real reality, the only truth, and the aim of intelligent humanity is to realize that truth and to be free from blindness and arrogance and self-conceit. It is a self-deception and subtle argument to say that while 'America to-day erects beautiful buildings devoted to education instead of the beautiful cathedrals or mosques or temples of medieval Europe and in Soviet Russia the biggest building is a factory or a college, the secular State of independent India, partitioned from Muslim Pakistan for the sake of a largely homogeneous Hindu population, would be able to balance its activities and avoid 'one particular aspect of life.' Despite the fact that 'India had realized, as shown by the Mohenjodaro monuments of 3000 B.C., the place of spiritual values,' it will be 'a dream and an illusion' to expect that in the new secular State of India, despite such an old tradition, 'it should not be difficult for us to pursue the scientific mind side by side with the quest of the spirit and not divorce the one from the other.' For such a laudable achievement,

however, it would not be enough to pass the Hindu Code Bill. The State will have to provide religious education and create an all round environment to instil in our minds a living faith in God and in the continuance of human existence after the disappearance of the mortal body.

The same fallacy appears to have been committed by a political thinker of the present age, the late Mr Roosevelt, in conspiracy with Mr. Churchill, when they startled the world by announcing, as the world policy, the four freedoms for everybody, *viz.*, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom from fear of others and want of the necessities of life (food and clothes), and freedom of religion. Elsewhere\* it has been shown that 'obviously these are contradictory ideals. Unless it is assumed that there is a uniformity in human culture and human civilization these high sounding elements of freedom cannot fit well together. If all peoples of the world do not think in the same way no freedom of thought can be ensured for all. Christian mission, fascism, socialism, communism, totalitarianism each imposes its own ideas upon others. It will suppress others by force if they speak against it. It will starve others by an economic blockade. It cannot allow sacrifice, for instance, in the name of religion. In the name of liberty of thought, if you do not care for the chastity and sacredness of single union between the sexes then there would be hardly any difference between man and beast. If in the name of free trade

\* Writer's "Indian Culture, Civilization, Arts and Religion."

and commerce you rob, exploit, and starve others you are as selfish, as callous and as cruel as the primitives. If you allow free practice of various religious customs, which are repugnant to each other, the peace and harmony of society will be disturbed. And if all peoples living side by side are allowed to have their own freedom of thought and action there can be no harmonious society. The free animals of the jungles, have never prospered. The survival of the fittest is an inconvenient truth. Indians cannot forget so soon that the Indo-British Government forcibly stopped music before or in the hearing of a mosque. The R. S. S. movement is being mercilessly suppressed on the plea that they did not conform to the partition of Mother India for the appeasement of the Muslims and for the sake of securing power to rule by a certain group without any opposition.

The point under discussion is, however, not politics but an effort to understand the relation between a secular State and Religion, not in a dogmatic manner neither at the cost or the suppression of any one else's faith and belief. In the India of the past all forms of religion prospered side by side. Even King Asoka or Kanishka who made Buddhism the State religion did not openly persecute the followers of the Vedic Religion. On the other hand the Imperial Gupta Kings, Samudragupta, Chandragupta and Kumaragupta, who revived the Hindu religion with Horse-sacrifices, publicly attended at the ceremonies of the Jains and the Buddhists. The history of the country bears witness to the fact that India, of all the medieval and ancient countries of the

world, never indulged in religious warfare. There is no mention in her history of any fight between the followers of Vishnu, Siva, and Sakti. In fact even the Muslim saints like Satya Pir (Narayana) are still worshipped in orthodox Hindu families. The labourers in Madras fall flat before the Madonna. To the Hindu mind there is no distinction between one religion and another. There is, therefore, no ground for the propagandist of an ideal secular State to fear that, if the State emphasizes the need for religious faith and belief equality of opportunity for all religions' will necessarily disappear and 'dogmatizing Hinduism' will disturb the peace of mind of our Ministers. Did the prayer meetings of Mahatma Gandhi produce any fanatics in any part of the country? His assassination was not caused by his mass practice of religion.

But what is that religion which a State must develop if peace, harmony, and material progress among the peoples of various faiths and creeds are to be aimed at? The problem concerns man's relation to society. The question is whether it should be determined 'by his right and not by his services.' According to one ideal "all that a man should demand is a fair field and no favour so that he can count on rising to the level to which his abilities and his attainments entitle him". According to the other ideal it is assumed that 'a man has a right to a comfortable living in virtue of his mere existence and without any regard to any return he may make to society, with the corollaries that the majority have a right to commandeer unusual ability and exact special service from it, and that no

man may receive more than a fixed maximum reward'. There can, however, be no question about which of these two ideals is 'more stimulating to the development of intelligence, or more acceptable to plain self respect'.

The Hindu tradition has ascribed the discrepancy between man and man, born and brought up without partiality to destiny or the consequences of one's own action in some previous birth. This destiny can however be altered only by the Almighty God if he is propitiated by our worship, prayer and good deeds. In any case an individual can build up a better destiny for the future by doing better in the present birth. The natural distinction between man and woman, and between man and man is based on individual instinct (guna) and ability (karma). The forcible removal of such natural distinctions by exercise of political majority in the legislative councils cannot produce equality between the sexes and between workers and intellectuals. A frank recognition of such an unavoidable distinction has the advantage of offering an explanation and consequent justification of the otherwise obscure incongruities of human life. It reconciles the individual to his personal disadvantages and inferiority complex. But it encourages all to improve their lot by personal effort, and to build up a better future. It recognizes the original equality of all human beings, all being the progeny of the same God, despite the accidental distinction of sexes and classes and castes; as it prescribes for the ultimate achievement of equalization in the fulness of birth and rebirth. The individual advantages in the domestic, social, commercial, and political fields are intended to provide greater facilities

to improve through the limitations of one's birth. It is not correct to think that the Hindu Shastras and scriptures adopted an organised policy to exploit and keep suppressed the inferior groups or the women folk. There was in fact a real parental honesty in providing a restricted scope for gradual and steady development for the children so that they could improve quicker rather than in getting greater scope which suited better the more matured adult. A subaltern becomes a better commander-in-chief of an army when he gradually rises in rank. A woman becomes a better Judge of a court of law if she learns her own duties as the mistress of a household. Only Almighty God can turn a woman into a man in her next birth if the woman prefers to be so. No secular State can make the husband bear the child instead of the wife. Similarly no amount of equalizing efforts can give more brains to an unintelligent man. The Hindu legislators recognized these facts and formulated their laws for material progress in the family, community, society, agriculture, industries, trade and commerce, for kings and rulers, along with moral and spiritual advancement. Thus was provided 'the most fertile ground for the spiritual and material progress of humanity'.

In which of the modern states of the world is the spiritual and material progress well balanced? Will the countries like Greece, Italy, Germany and Great Britain become spiritual minded by converting their beautiful churches into factories or colleges as in Russia and America? Do these advanced States make provision for instilling an active faith in God and immortality of the human

soul? Do they provide for the next life as they give old age pensions? They are no doubt anxious that the child should grow into a good citizen and that there should no hardship in old age. Do they similarly think of the life hereafter? Should India blindly imitate the West and lose its unique heritage, for which alone Indian culture and civilization are still respected all over the world? We cannot retain that respect by the merely building factories and hospitals in place of temples or by giving shares of property equally to our daughters or making them free to change their husbands whenever they feel like doing so.

There has been a misapprehension in the relative natures, functions and relations of the Religion and the State on account of the surging tide of materialism following the overthrow of religious inspiration in European and American countries.

The erroneous views have not only sabotaged the universal, primordial, divinely revealed religion and all the religious paths that have followed in its wake, but have put men on a wrong scent of libertinism in morals, unscrupulous power-hunting in politics, and anti-social or internecine class-war in social relations. And there has been under the materialistic rule of the new ideology an unusual progress in the scientific means of destruction. The way-out of these calamitous conditions is not in turning away from, but reverting to, the ideology, social systems and political conditions revealed and preached in the Vedic Shastras. In the proper amendment of these erroneous views lies the hope of human happiness, order, harmony and abiding peace, as well as the stabilization

of the disturbed equilibrium of world conditions".

The science of Theology treats of God and of man's duty to Him. While Natural Theology is based on reasoning, Positive and Revealed Theology deals with faith and belief more than reasoning. The inductive and experimental method of science is not applicable in matters of transcendental faith. The practical form of religion proper takes for granted the existence of some supernatural and Almighty Power which can regulate human destiny. Thus is recognized man's obligation to God who can be propitiated by obedience, love and worship through prayers, meditation and offerings according to the ability and opportunity of the worshippers.

The practice of such religion can safely be encouraged by any modern State without fear of interrupting the efforts at all material and ethical progress. The British King is still the defender of the faith. What would be the difficulty if the independent State of India instil a faith and belief in God and continuance of human existence after death in this life? What would be the harm if the Government makes it a law for every body in schools, colleges assemblies and other congregations to pray in the simplest language of Mahatma Gandhi—"Allah Ishwara ekai nam savkosumati deo Bhagyan?" Will there be anything wrong if we pray  
 Sarvepi Sukhinab Santu sarve santu niramayah  
 Sarve bhadrani pasyantu ma fiaahid dubkham  
 spnuyat.

" May everybody be happy ; may all be free from disabilities, diseases ; may all look for everybody's good ; may none suffer from sorrow and disappointment."

The repetition of such slogans from our childhood and in all our activities may instil faith and belief, which are lacking in modern civilization.

# THE MINISTRY AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.

BY DR. P. C. ALEXANDER, M.A. D.Litt.

THE civil services in India have a new role to play now. The transition from bureaucracy to parliamentary democracy has imposed on them many new responsibilities and duties. The introduction of responsible government has apparently reduced the importance of the civil services. They have now to work under "political heads" who are responsible to an elected legislature. They have to faithfully carry out the policies and programmes of the party in power, even if they may have no faith in any of them. They have to take note of public opinion as expressed in the press and from the platforms. But on clear examination we will find that even though the importance of the civil service has apparently declined, their responsibilities and duties have greatly increased.

Parliamentary government is the government of amateurs. One is chosen as a minister not because he is an expert in the subject allotted to him, but because of various other considerations. In parliamentary democracy it is not necessary that a minister should be an expert in the subject he administers. Neither is it possible to have only experts in a political executive. W. B. Munro says that in nine out of ten cases in Britain the minister will have no professional qualifications for the technical responsibility to which he is assigned. "The British war office" he says "has been headed at times by a philosopher or a journalist, the admiralty by a merchant or barrister, and the board of trade by a university professor."<sup>1</sup> Even the Chancellors of the Exchequer who are expected to be familiar with the intricate

ries of public finance have been very often amateurs. "A youth must pass an examination in Arithmetic" says Sir Sidney Low, "before he can hold a second class clerkship in the Treasury; but the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be a middle aged man of the world who has forgotten what little he ever learned about figures."<sup>2</sup> Initial unfamiliarity with the work is no barrier to appointment as a minister. It is expected that he will get himself acquainted with the subject in course of time. The veteran Palmerston is said to have told his Assistant when he assumed charge of the Colonial Office "to come upstairs for half an hour and show him where those confounded Colonies were on the map." After all, as Bagehot says, the duty of the Minister is not to work his department, but to get it worked. Even if he is capable of doing it himself it will not be possible for him to do full justice to his task. A minister in parliamentary democracy, unlike in the presidential system, has to devote a good deal of his time and energies to parliamentary work. As a prominent member of the party, he has to spare some time for party work. As a popular leader, he has to tour the country, attend meetings, and explain to the people the policy and activities of the government. These are indispensable functions for a minister, and naturally he cannot spare all his time and energies for executive work. What is expected of him is to get the job done by the civil services. Ramsay Muir says: "Unless the minister is either a self-important ass or a man of quite exceptional

1. Governments of Europe, p. 114.

2. The Governance of England, p. 201.

grasp, power and courage (and both of these types are uncommon among successful politicians) he will in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, simply accept their view and sign his name on the dotted line." This may sound like exaggeration, but this is the critical opinion of a well-balanced observer. Muir does not minimise the importance of the political executive; he only emphasises the importance of the role played by the civil service in a parliamentary type of government.

The question now is whether the civil services in India will prove themselves capable of discharging the heavy responsibilities expected of them. Independence and partition have brought about a great depletion in their ranks and their present strength is quite inadequate for our requirements. With the opening of embassies in foreign States, the integration and merger of native States and the expansion of the fields of governmental activities in general, India is feeling the difficulties of an inadequate civil service. The chief difficulty about the Indian civil service is that it never had any training in parliamentary democracy. Indian civil service had no doubt a great reputation for efficiency; but there was great truth in the popular jibe against it that it was neither Indian nor civil. Lord Morley had realised the incompatibility of a rigid civil service with popular administration many decades ago. "Our administration would be a great deal more popular" he observed "if it were a trifle more elastic. Our danger is the creation of a pure bureaucracy, competent, honourable, faithful, indolent.

3. How Britain is governed. Pp. 55-56.

but rather mechanical, rather lifeless, perhaps rather soulless". In spite of declarations like this, the main policy of the British administrators in India has been to keep the civil services as rigid and mechanical as possible. The Montford reforms of 1919 and the Government of India Act of 1935 made no attempts to establish healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and the civil services. The partial transfer of power made in 1919 did not in any way affect the "mechanical, lifeless and soulless" character of the civil services. The ministers in the transferred half had practically no control or influence over them. Special provisions had been made in the Act to safeguard the privileges of the bureaucracy. The All India services and the higher branches of the central services were recruited exclusively by the Secretary of State in Council. They held office during the pleasure of the Crown, and they could not be dismissed from service by any authority subordinate to that which appointed them. An aggrieved officer had the right to complain to the Governor. Under the rules of executive business, cases in which the minister differed from the opinion of his subordinate civil servants had to be submitted to the Governor for final orders. The secretary in the departments had direct access to the Governor and the minister had to put up with the humiliation of seeing the Governor upholding the views of the civil servant as against his! Even the 1935 Act, which introduced full autonomy in the provinces and partial responsibility at the centre, did not introduce healthy traditions in the relations between the ministry and

the civil services. The All India services continued to be under the responsibility of the Secretary of State in Council. The promotion of an officer, or any order suspending him from office, or punishing or formally censuring him had to be made by the Governor or Governor-General in his individual judgment. There are as many as forty-six sections in the 1935 Act elaborating the special privileges of the civil services. It is no wonder, if the civil services, with their statutory privileges and rights, failed to function in the traditions of popular administration <sup>4</sup>. What is required now is a thorough reorientation

4 Cases of conflict between the ministry and the civil service under Provincial Autonomy are not rare. A notable instance is the conduct of the Chief Secretary of Bihar. "In December 1937 it was published in the papers that Mr. W. B. Brett, Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had issued a circular directing district officers to disregard orders emanating from or purporting to come direct from

of the civil services to suit the new requirements, and a clean burial of their past traditions.

An honest and efficient civil service is the *sine qua non* for efficiency in a parliamentary type of government. We cannot always hope to have supermen as ministers. Ministers may be good, bad or indifferent, but the civil service cannot afford to be anything but good. If India can establish an efficient, honest and incorruptible civil service, uninfluenced by communal, caste or provincial considerations, that will be the best guarantee for our success in parliamentary democracy.

the ministers unless these were duly signed by one of the permanent secretaries. The prime Minister of Bihar, it was rumoured, was determined to resign if the Governor did not support him in taking a strong line of action in the matter. Subsequently, Mr. Brett explained that the circular had been issued by him in his private capacity.

## THE GERMAN PHENOMENON

BY MR. A. F. THYAGARAJU, M.A., (Lond.)

THE periodical resurgence of Germany is a political portent which cannot be easily ignored. Since Bismarck presented a startled Europe with a unified Germany, the nations of the world have been blind to the meaning of this augury until it has been too late. Twice in living memory have they learnt what a potentially destructive force Germany is, and what a tremendous impact she can make on every part of the globe. But too often in the past has attention been directed to political and economic factors to the gross neglect of the psychological factor. It cannot be overemphasised that, in the ultimate analysis, a nation is not a

congeries of political, social or economic forces; it is a community of human beings who behave as reasonably or unreasonably as other human beings do. If we understood their character and appreciated their motives, we would be able to predict, with reasonable certainty how they would behave in a given set of circumstances. The study of economics and politics will enlighten the circumstances; only the study of national psychology will give us the clue to national behaviour.

If this is true generally, nowhere is it more true than of the German people. The German character has its roots in

history. The German is a sentimental person to whom race, blood, language, common sufferings and common triumphs mean much more than they do to the average European. Only in Germany has the concept of the German *Volk* been invested with a mystic glamour, and the heroes of the "Germanic past" mean much more to the German youth than does Alfred or Nelson to the English school-boy. The tendency of German youth is to look backwards for inspiration, and to attempt to emulate in the present the doughty deeds of the past. Time and again have dictators, gaining easy ascendancy over a people with an instinct for obedience and lacking the highly-developed individuality of the Englishman, exploited this sentimental and romantic quality to the full. The world will not soon forget the Siegfried Line, with the memories of the *Nibelungenlied*, the Pagan movement of Baldur von Shirach with its munbo-jumbo resuscitated from Tacitus' *Germania*, and the Sieg Heil choruses of Black Guards marching under the Brandenburg Tor. There is nothing strange about all this, though it is a little comical, if not pathetic, that the most highly endowed people in Europe should be afflicted by such childishness.

Three recent books\* throw much light on German character, and may be commended not only to the expert in foreign affairs, but also to the general reader. Prof. G. P. Gooch's *Frederick the Great* is a new study of the Patron Saint of Germany and the Father of Prussian militarism, if a saint can beget such offspring. It is not a substitute

for Koser's great work, but largely through extracts from the talented rulers' writings, which were, incidentally, all in French, we get a vivid idea of his tastes and outlook, his self-dedication to the cause of his nation, his zeal and capacity for unremitting toil. In the hour of anxiety the modern German has turned to those inspiring words, written at the beginning of the Seven Years' War, in which he said that if he was killed the war should go on as if nothing had happened; if he was taken captive the slightest attention should not be paid to what he wrote from prison. From extracts such as these we can understand why he was adored by his people and why they need some of his great qualities today. But the hysterical nationalist should also remember that the king said to Thiebault, "You do not know German?". "No, Sir," replied the man who was to be in charge of Frederick's Academy, "but I hope soon to master it". "You are fortunate in your ignorance", rejoined Frederick, "Give me your word of honour that you will not learn our language".\* Frederick laid the foundations of that tradition of hard work, of efficiency, of identification with a cause and of discipline which are the well-merited glories of the German people. Unfortunately, however, his seizure of Silesia from the Austrian domains gave rise to the impression that aggression pays, and the doctrine, that might is right, has infected German thought ever since. Not a single German historian of repute has condemned the Silesian outrage; many have sought to condone it.

\* *Frederick the Great, the Ruler, the Writer, the Man*. By G. P. Gooch. D. Litt., F. B. A., Longmans, *Diplomatic Prelude*, 1938-1939. By L. B. Namier, F. B. A., Macmillans,

\* 1948, pp 503; *The Course of German History, a Survey of the Development of Germany since 1815*. By A. J. P. Taylor, Hamish Hamilton, 1946.

Prof. Namier's book deals with just one year, the most pregnant year within recent memory. It is a highly documented work which quotes at length from the blue (or other coloured) books published by the governments of the countries that took part in what Taylor calls the Four Years war. Chamberlain and the appeasers are held up to ridicule and Churchill treated as the one prophetic voice of the century. As a documentary of the hectic events that preceded the outbreak of the Second World War, and as a study of the unreliability of the most noted German of modern times, Namier's book is invaluable. But Taylor breaks entirely new ground in his brilliant and provocative study of the German phenomenon. The book bristles with dicta, any one of which is sufficient to produce a violent tempest in the academic teacups. One example must suffice: "In Luther, German sentiment first asserted itself and it asserted itself against reason, against civilisation, against the West. In the rest of Europe religious reform implied going forward; with Luther it meant going back, repudiating everything which was carrying civilised life beyond barbarism". Taylor regrets that the Germans, "the people of the middle", have never known the middle way of life. They have known only the extremes, and it is not uncommon to find in one and the same German the extremes of humanity and ruthlessness, of religious piety and class scepticism. There are, according to this authority, two problems—that of keeping Germany at peace with her neighbours, and that of giving the people a good and stable government. For the first his

solution is simple if cruel—keep Germany weak and her neighbours strong. For the second and more difficult question he cannot give a quick answer. Perhaps the revival of the old autonomous states, on modern democratic lines, and training in local self-government, will do the trick. Something of this sort is happening now with Germany broken up into British, American and Soviet zones.

It may, however, be doubted whether these remedies will be effective. An ancient and vigorous people, with a strong sense of racial and national unity, cannot be subdued by such methods. Perhaps the slow but sure way of political education and enlightenment, such as was inaugurated in President Ebert's republic, will enable Germany to take her rightful place in the world family, without shame and without offence.

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# FOOD DEFICIT

BY MR. JAGAT JYOTI PAL, B.A.

INDIA'S food deficit is 6 to 7 per cent. It is a tragedy of facts that nearly 70 per cent. of her population being engaged in Agriculture, she cannot meet her own demands and is being dependent on foreign imports. If you look to the distribution of occupation of people in advanced countries, you will find that 50 per cent. of the population a country being engaged in Agriculture are able to meet their demands, whereas in India 70 per cent. of her population is engaged in Agriculture, yet she is not self-sufficient and her food problem has been the problem of problems.

To rectify this present state of affairs, the Government have been directing their attention to the development of Agriculture, from different fronts, such as reclamation of land, introduction of tractors, construction of fertilizer factories, improvement of animal husbandry etc. But the Government are not fully aware of other sources of food. Land is not the only sources of food. There is the sea where there is almost unlimited supply of protein food—I mean fish. A large section of Indian people are prejudicial to fish eating. People are to be educated in respect of fish. Protein value of fish is unquestionable and fish and rice together forms an ideal diet. Mahatma Gandhi though himself a vegetarian, while discussing food problems advocated the procurement of fish from sea. He also suggested introduction of dried fish as a rationed food. It is not known what his closest followers are doing in this respect and translating his ideas into action is in their power.

India has a vast sea coast, and India's climate is favourable to sea fishing. If

Government pay greater attention to sea fishing, I have no doubt that she will be self-sufficient in her food consumption. A liberal supply of fish along with rice will make the people healthier. I can say that the Government will insure the health of the people if they can make arrangements for a liberal supply of fish in their diet.

But fish is a very perishable item of food. It cannot be harvested at a time and stocked for future use like agricultural products. But steps can be taken to stock it to some extent for future use by such methods as drying it and tinning it. In these days of air-traffic fish can be transported by air and its perishability will not stand much in the way of the development of this important commodity. The deteriorated or rotten fish is an important manure which can be utilized for the development of agriculture. For the development of fish industry, cold storage is to be provided at sea coast as well as drying and tinning methods are to be greatly resorted to. To solve India's food problems by development of agriculture, will require a long time. Its development requires all long terms plans and no short term plan can be adopted for its improvement, moreover our disease in the agricultural department has been a chronic one which can be remedied by a long term treatment. For fishing industry you have to purchase some trawlers from abroad and engage people in it. You will have simply to carry on. Sea is such a vast source of fish that you have not worry much for its supply. In agriculture you have to recoup and resuscitate the land to maintain its productivity, in case of sea no such question arises. Fish not only contains highly assi.

milable protein, its oil is physiologically superior to many oils of vegetable origin and is rich in Vitamins A and D. Some fish oils from fish of Indian origin have proved to be superior to imported Norwegian Cod Liver oil.

If India's food potentiality is fully developed she will not only be self-sufficient herself but she will be a creditor country in the world in respect of food. During the

last world war a large amount of sterling balance had accumulated to India's credit but a large section of it has dwindled to meet her food shortage and she has not been able to make any headway in the industrialization of the country. Not only this, she has been negotiating for a loan from the World bank for the development of her Agriculture. What is wanted in the present context is a more rational outlook on the items of food.

## THE NORTH EAST FRONTIER

BY MR. P. S. CHAUHAN

(O)

VARIOUS new provinces have been created lately. While the creation of some has been forced by the pressure of popular demand on the Indian Union based on linguistic and cultural considerations, others have been necessitated by the merging in of several Princely States, that had remained away as the Indian-Indians. Formation of the provinces with an eye on Defence should have merited the foremost attention of our Communist-complexed leaders; who will do well to realize, that it will not be statesmanship to defer it any longer; since times are bad and Communism is on the march, challenging established forms and constitutions all over the world—China, Burma, Malaya, Ceylon and now we hear them knocking at the gate of Assam, since the pest of Communism has been observed to thrive and flourish astounding fast in the neglected regions, where illiteracy, sloth and poverty lend nourishment Communist select for their activity, areas wherein the people

are discontent and have a grudge against their rulers for certain reasons.

One such region well worth the attention of our administrators, is the belt at the foothill of the Himalayas adjacent to E. Nepal, and running through Sikkim, Darjeeling, Dooars, Bhutan, up to the borders of Assam. This may turn out to be the most dangerous spot, if the Central Government do not pay any heed to the tide of discontent growing among the hill folks inhabiting this belt. Due to Radcliffe having driven a wedge of strip in demarcating the Bengal; geopolitically, this region is now altogether cut off from the West-Bengal of which it is still claimed to be a part. What is still worse, the relation between the Bengalis and the hillfolks is much strained, specially after the Independence Day, when the outlook of the Bengali Officers and local Congressites suddenly changed and they took up a domineering attitude. This assertion of racial superiority antagonised the hill folks.

If the Central Government cannot retain their confidence and create a formidable wall of Defence on the borders, the enemy at home watching for an opportunity, will certainly plunge the country into chaos. Nepalese or the stocky Gorkhas, Bhutias, Lepchas, Sikkimese, Coches, Meches and Mundas who speak more or less the same language and follow the same custom, usage by intermarrying freely among themselves, inhabit this strategic part. A typical Pardesh forming one homogeneous unit of administration which is the cherished ideal of the Congress is thus a possibility.

Since theoretical propositions are hardly satisfactory, the practical side of it must first show the economical possibility, thus convincing our high priests of Economical self sufficiency, and that the Centre in no case would be burdened. A thorough study of the economy of this unit is therefore indispensable by those who claim to be the Authorities; since to a casual observer, it appears to be in perfect order.

Sikkim, Bhutan and Coochbehar are all solvent States. Dooars is a rich revenue-yielding tract. Darjeeling may be slightly deficient, but this can be made up by developing a big tourist trade. Should this proposition stand the economic test, I feel, that food, clothes, fuel, rice, maize and pastoral products will be in abundant supply. Hydro-electricity can be easily generated, and being next door to Assam, transport of kerosine and petrol will be simple. Textiles certainly will have to come from Bombay, but it will be cheaper if it is brought to the 'Pradesh' via Cawnpore-Katihar-Silguri; then via Calcutta, after sating the big trade interest of the city.

The 'Pradesh' is advantageously placed for the Rail and Road communications, forming a link as she does between Assam and Behar. Thus our powerful neighbours in Burma and China can be sure of the maxim, that 'the price of freedom is eternal vigilance', so far the interest of India is concerned. Without making Assam into a mighty arsenal, troops can certainly be rushed and kept in reserve, in time of emergency; and the 'Pradesh' will never betray as being the potential reserve for the Military strength of the Indian Dominion. With one landing Ground already existing at Bagdora, this 'Pradesh' can have the facilities of fast modern transport also.

#### DR. KESKAR ON "UNKNOWN" BRITISH PLAN

As the above article was in the Press Dr. B. V. Keskar, India's Deputy Minister for External Affairs in the course of a recorded broadcast stated that the North-eastern Frontier of India might become a very important factor in the over-all defence of the country.

Dr. Keskar said that it was the policy of Government of India to do everything possible to help the tribal areas of Assam to develop socially, educationally and otherwise. Government wanted these areas to come on a par with other parts of India and to make the tribal people feel one with the rest of the country.

At the same time, Government wanted to guard the tribal people's cultural autonomy as far as possible.

The recent events in China and Burma made it clear that this frontier of India might possibly become in the near future, a very important factor in the overall defence of the country.

# A Central Institute for Drug Research

BY DR. JIVRAJ N. MEHTA

Any scheme of medical relief to the nation, drugs which are the chief weapons in our attack against mal-nutrition, diseases and epidemics, would naturally form an important item for consideration. Next to the supply of food, the provision of drugs of good and dependable quality, at a price within the reach of the poorest masses of India is an urgent and imperative necessity. The question of drug supply is again intimately related with drug research on scientific lines, as only on the basis of up-to-date scientific knowledge, the medical profession would be able to utilize to the maximum the abundant sources of drugs that exist in this country. It is quite clear today that without research, the drug Industry in India cannot be improved and brought to the level of that existing in foreign countries. India today is still very largely an importing country in the matter of her present-day medical and surgical needs—spending from 3 to 4 crores each year on such imports—and it has been felt for a long time that attempts should be made to establish a National Institute for drug research, so that various enquiries in this direction could be studied and met. It is a pleasure to state that after all, this objective has now been fulfilled and we are able to initiate the establishment of a Central Drug Research Institute at Lucknow,\* thanks to the generosity of U. P. Government in handing over this imposing and historical building—Chattar Manzil Palace—with its spacious ground to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research for the purpose.

\* From an address delivered on the occasion of opening of the Central Drug Research Institute, Lucknow.

A fair amount of research on indigenous drugs has been carried out in India during the last 30 years under the auspices of the Indian Research Fund Association and in such institutions as the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta, the Central Drugs Laboratory, Calcutta, the Haffkine Institute, Bombay, the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, the Central Research Institute, Kasauli, the Chemical Laboratories of the various Indian Universities, some medical Colleges and lately under the auspices of the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research. These investigations, which have yielded valuable results, have indicated also the need for a central organisation for carrying on intensive research on drugs and for providing facilities for work between pure science and applied science and also between scientists and industrialists engaged in drug manufacture. Unlike researches in other fields of science, drug research is essentially a collaborative research between botanists, agriculturists, chemists, pharmacologists, micro-biologists and clinicians. There are very few, if any, individual workers who possess all the technical skill and the theoretical information required for the development of the whole field of drug and pharmaceutical research. This fact was realised in Germany in the first decade of this century and the German scientists were the first to develop drug research by this method of collaborative work. Later, the same method of collaborative research has been adopted in countries such as Great Britain, Switzerland and America, with the result that some phe-

menal discoveries (discovery of antimalarials, e.g. Plasmochin, Atebrin, Paludrine; discovery of anti-bacterials e.g., Sulpha drugs; discovery of insecticides, e.g., D.D.T. and Gammexane; discovery of antibiotics, e.g. Penicillin and Streptomycin, etc.) have been made in the field of therapeutics during the last 15 years, which was not possible in over 3,000 years, i.e. from 1500 B.C. to 1900 A.D. One of the major factors which has been responsible for the present unsatisfactory position of drug research and drug industry in India is this lack of collaborative work between different groups of scientists and between the various scientific groups of workers within the industries. The Central Drug Research Institute will be the first Institute of its kind, where this collaborative work would be brought in towards the development of drug resources of this country.

#### THE SCOPE OF WORK

The scope for research in drugs and pharmaceuticals in India is wide-ranging from systematic study of the crude drugs used in indigenous systems of medicine to the highly developed field of synthetics and antibiotics. Nearly 75 per cent. of the vegetable drugs listed in the British Pharmacopoeia are native to India and substitutes for a large number of others can be found among the rich and varied resources in this country. These resources have not been exhaustively explored or exploited. Researches in the fields of synthetics and antibiotics will have to be intensified, but in the immediate future special stress will have to be laid down on the natural drugs.

#### THE FUNCTIONS

The functions of the Institute will be:

1. Promotion of drug research in general, including botanical (pharmacognosy), chemical, pharmaceutical, pharmacological (standardisation, chemotherapy and toxicology), bacteriological, microbiological and clinical aspects.

2. Testing and standardization of drugs according to approved methods and giving expert opinion thereon as a guide for further research, development and production. The Institute will naturally confine itself in this regard to testing and standardization in so far as they relate to the work of the Institute.

3. Offering facilities to and helping scientists in universities, special institutions, industrial concerns and others who may not be in a position to carry out investigations by themselves.

4. Providing controlled clinical trials in hospitals, clinics etc., and

5. Dissemination of scientific knowledge and statistical information relating to drugs.

The ultimate object of the Institute would be to stimulate progress in the control and treatment of disease through facilitating investigations to establish the usefulness and limitations of diagnostic, preventive and therapeutic agents. This will involve not only the promotion of critical clinical investigations of new therapeutic agents but also the consideration of possible new uses for the old ones according to varying factors.

#### THE ORGANISATION OF THE INSTITUTE.

The Institute will consist of a number of chief Divisions, to begin with (1) Division of Chemistry, (2) Division of Pharmacology, (3) Division of Bio-chemistry and Microbiology and (4) Division of Clinical science and (5) Division of Pharmaceutical

**Botany and Pharmacognosy.** It has been recently decided at the January meeting of the Drugs and Pharmaceuticals Committee that it may be necessary to have a 6th Division from the very beginning—Division of Pharmaceutical Botany and Pharmacognosy which was otherwise formerly decided to be placed under the Division of Chemistry. In addition, there will be (i) a Central Library, (ii) an Information Service and

(iii) a workshop for fabrication of instruments, special glass apparatus and pilot plants.

The work of the various divisions would be under the overall supervision and guidance of a Director, who may be a specialist in any of the branches comprising the Divisions of the Institute and who could have leadership to integrate and correlate the work of the various divisions.



#### RADIO ON THE TUBE

V.H.F. (Very High Frequency) radio is extensively used by London Transport Executive engineers during their work in bringing new signalling installations into service on the railways and for reporting back to H.Q. during breakdowns. This radio communication is used between the signalling cabin and the points or signals for checking their correct operation. Previously the reports were made via the nearest telephone which caused considerable delay. It is proving highly valuable in cases of breakdowns, for the high intensity of the London Transport Services demands the minimum of time for repairs and the radio on the spot reports progress or calls for reinforcements, equipment, etc. A portable radio set used for reporting to a similar set in the Signal Cabin, on the operation of points.

# FINE PRINT AS AN AID TO EYESIGHT

A NEW DISCOVERY

BY DR. R. S. AGARWAL

ASK a doctor and he will tell you that reading fine print is bad for the eyes. It causes shortsight and other eye discomforts. If you put a question, why? there is no satisfactory reply. Everyone knows that Chinese and Japanese use very large print and suffer most from shortsight (myopia) and I think there is no nation in the world that has so much myopia. Children and adults who read big print in the books or persons who do not know reading often suffer from shortsight. These facts puzzle one.

Recently a patient visited Dr. Agarwal's Eye Institute at Delhi and complained of great eye strain. The use of glasses, instead of relieving the strain, had aggravated the trouble the moment he used them. He had several pairs of spectacles with him and was advised by the eye specialists to give up reading which was neither possible nor practical for him. His eyesight was fairly good. While he was just reading in the book 'Eye Troubles in Old Age' in the visitors' room, the following sentence, he was simply surprised:

FINE PRINT IS A BENEFIT TO THE EYE,  
LARGE PRINT IS A MENACE.

For a long time he was afraid of reading thin type and always preferred to read large type.

The doctor, after a careful examination, told him to read fine print, as close to the eyes as comfortably possible, several times a day, and that this was his real remedy. The doctor's advice was a shock to him at first but as he had heard much about the efficacy of

his novel methods, he submitted himself completely to follow his instructions. When he began to read the booklet of fine print, he felt a sensation of discomfort at first but after a little encouragement and palming exercise it became quite comfortable for him to read the fine print at various distances, from 12 inches to 6 inches.

By palming is meant to close the eyes and cover them with the palms of the hands, avoiding any pressure on the eyeballs. In this way the outer light is shut and one sees a black field before the eyes because the retina of the eye is sensitive to light which is shut by palms. But when the mind and eyes are under strain one does not see black but some other colours or the black is faint. To see perfect black like that of printer's ink, is an indication of relaxation of the eyes and mind. If one can recall, the memory of a familiar black object or some other colour, or a sensation of touch, or a bar of music, while palming the blackness before the eyes, improves. There should be no effort to recall the memory of some object. A pillow may be put below the elbows so as to make the posture comfortable. Palming may be for about five minutes or more.

## TOO LATE

The day after McFadzean's funeral, David McAllister called on the widow, and, after some hesitation, asked for her hand.

"I'm sorry, Davit," said she, "for I like ye well enough; but ye're late. If you'd really wanted me ye could have spoke long ago; ye ken it was common knowledge in the village three weeks ago that McFadzean couldna get better again."

# OUR PLANS FOR INDUSTRIALISATION

By MR. K. G. MENON, I.C.S.

[ Mr. K. G. Menon, I.C.S., in the course of a talk broadcast from A. I. R. Madras, recounted the steps taken by the Government of Madras to prosecute their plans for industrialisation. He indicated some of the main lines which have engaged Government's attention but he did not hesitate to point out "that most industries can develop only on the basis of private initiative." Government, however, could render financial assistance to deserving industries and otherwise help them with expert advice where necessary. ED. I.R. ]

**T**OWARDS the end of the war, the Government of India decided to work out a post-war development scheme, under which there would be an orderly and co-ordinated development of industries right through the country. Such co-ordination is essential to ensure rational and strategic regionalisation and the proper distribution of finished products. It is also essential to facilitate the import of capital goods, which are scarce all over the world. This scheme, as modified from time to time in the light of requirements, forms the basis of our development programme.

Now I am concerned only with our industrial development. Before any industry is established, we must have the power to set the machines in motion. Our production of electric power is of the order of 178,000 K. W. This is by no means sufficient and our programme contemplates both stepping up production in existing stations as also new production. New thermal stations will be put up at Nellore, Cuddapah, Kurnool and Mathurai producing 24,000 K. W. and new hydro-electric stations at Machkund. Nilgiris (Moyer Project) and expansion is contemplated at Pykara and Papanasam producing 112,000 K. W. Another source of power is coal. We know coal exists in the Godavary Valley, but intensive work has

not been undertaken in this area so far to recover the coal. But the Geological Survey of India will soon undertake this work. There are also known deposits of lignite or brown coal in South Arcot and Malabar. The South Arcot Deposits are now under active investigation and can be used not only for production of electric power, but also for fuel gas and many organic compounds like benzene, phenol, dyes etc. These deposits cover an area of over 100 square miles and vary in thickness from 25 to 90 feet.

Next we will consider some of our mineral resources. We are fortunate in this respect. We have extensive and excellent deposits of high quality haematite in Sandur. At the same site occurs good manganese ore. In the neighbourhood occur all the minerals like limestone, refractories and chrome ore required for the steel industry. The picture will be complete if suitable coal is available in the Province or near it. Even if we can use electricity for smelting—and that means a large block of cheap electricity—we would require considerable quantities of coal for reduction. The Government are in contact with foreign experts to evolve a sound and economic proposal for utilising their iron resources.

In Salem, bauxite or aluminium ore and magnesite occur in large quantities. This bauxite is reported to be eminently suitable for the manufacture of aluminium. On alumipium can be based a number of industries. The latest we know is of its increasing use for electric transmission lines. Magnesite is essential in the manufacture of refractories, which will be required in increasing quantities when our industrial expansion proceeds apace. It is also valuable for making light alloys. Proposals for utilising these minerals are being discussed with experts.

Other important strategic minerals known to exist in this Province are antimony, copper and lead ores, ilmenite and monozite, barytes, asbestos, China clay, gypsum, mica, phosphatic nodules and soapstone. These have important industrial uses. Thus lead, ilmenite and barytes are essential for paints. Ilmenite and Monozite are associated with radio active elements, which are in great demand in certain parts of the World for atomic power. Ilmenite is the source of Titanium dioxide, which is claimed to be a better white paint than other known white pigments. The commercial manufacture of titanium metal, recently announced in the United States of America, may put at the disposal of the Chemical and Process engineer, a metal of great value. Gypsum is one of the basic requirements of the Fertilizer Factory at Alwaye. Fused phosphate from the nodules in Tiruchirapalli District will give a good phosphatic manure. Our mica has gone all over the world and a factory for the production of micanite has been put up in Gudur. China clay is an essential

ingredient of ceramics and the Government Ceramic Factory at Gudur is using it extensively.

Now we must turn to the chemical industry. We have some production of Sulphuric acid and Caustic soda, but have to depend largely on imports for our requirements. We have programmed to increase the production of both these basic compounds. Three new soda-ash plants have also been approved. Two superphosphate plants are likely to come into production before long. A large scale paint factory is about to start production. Along with a Caustic soda plant, there is scope for manufacturing many much-needed chlorine compounds including hydrochloric acid. Proposals for power alcohol production are also complete. A large glue factory is being set up. We may expect, as a result of these ventures, substantial increases in the production of pulp and paper, fertilisers and insecticides, paints and varnishes, soap, textiles and rayon, chemicals and drugs, glass and ceramics and tanned leather.

Some other industries included in our programme and worth mentioning should now be briefly examined. The textile industry had a spindlage in this Province of 1,311,125 when war broke out. The post-war development allotment is 352,000 spindles. One half of the yarn produced is to be reserved for the handloom industry. The sugar industry now produces 52,000 tons of sugar a year, which is less than 50 of our requirements. New allotments will produce about 96,000 tons more a year. 8,79,200 tons of cement were

produced annually until recently. A new factory of 150,000 tons is likely to commence operations in Tirunelveli in a month or two. Two more new plants with a total capacity of 1½ lakhs of tons will be located at Kurnool and South Arcot. Existing plants have had their capacity increased. The total additional production will be 4,20,000 tons a year. Ten new hydrogenation plants have been sanctioned and they would not only facilitate the production of edible oils, but would help the soap industry and enable us to keep the valuable nitrogenous oil cake in the country. To facilitate studies of oils, the Government are setting up a hydrogenation factory and Oil Technological Institutes at Calicut and Anantapur. Arrangements are also being made to start a concern to supply fuel gas to Madras City.

Madras is one of the few Provinces in India where Sericulture has been developed on a large scale. This Province possesses many natural advantages and with effective organisation, the industry can thrive. The acreage under mulberry cultivation is about 21,000. During the war, the raw silk manufactured in the Government Silk Filature, Kollegal was supplied to the Government of India for war purposes. After the war, due to the less of that demand, the industry is trying to readjust itself. Competition from cheap foreign silk is making this difficult.

A five-year scheme for the development of sericulture on the lines of the recommendations made by the panel on silk set up by the Government of India is under the active consideration of Government.

These proposals are intended to improve the quality and yield of cocoons and ultimately to place this Province in a position to resist foreign competition successfully. A considerable improvement in the general economic condition of the sericulturists is also anticipated. The total cost of the Scheme will be about Rs. 26·6 lakhs in a Five Year period.

Attempts are also being made to facilitate the industrialisation of agriculture. Substantial allotments of steel are given to factories producing agricultural implements. The two automobile assembly plants coming up near Madras can produce tractors, the demand for which exceeds supply.

To train up the men required in these enterprises, the Government have started eight Polytechnics. The Government of India and the Government of Madras have, with the munificent assistance of the industry and philanthropists, also embarked on a Leather and an Electrochemical Research Institutes. A Textile Research Institute is also contemplated. I should also mention here the Alagappa College of Technology and the Madras Institute of Technology which will turn out highly qualified technicians.

#### CHRIST PREFERRED TO WALK

A Scotman visiting the Holy Places asked for a boat to take him to the Sea of Galilee.

The boatman demanded 12 shillings for the trip.

"But that's too much," said the Scot. "In Edinburgh you can have it for a shilling or two."

"True," said the boatman. "But this is the Sea of Galilee on which Christ walked."

"No wonder," exclaimed the Scot, "Christ preferred to walk."

# THE LEGACY THAT TOLSTOY LEFT

BY NIKOLAI RODINOV

LEO TOLSTOY was born on September 9, 1828.

In his will, the great Russian writer, renounced all author's rights in the publication of his works and bequeathed them for the use of the people in general.

Tolstoy's friend Chertkov endeavoured to carry into effect the publication of a complete edition of Leo Tolstoy's writings, for a long time without success; no one would undertake this prodigious task in Tsarist Russia.

In the years 1910-1917 editions of some of the writer's works appeared separately, but did not form a complete edition.

After the October Revolution, Chertkov was received in 1918 by Vladimir Lenin, who pointed out the necessity for publishing all that Tolstoy had written. His initiative received practical realization in 1925, when the Council of People's Commissars issued a decision on the publication of a complete academic edition of Leo Tolstoy's works.

## 89 VOLUMES PLANNED

The legacy of manuscripts left by Leo Tolstoy comprised 1,500 authors' signatures. By the outbreak of the war 38 volumes of this edition, which was to be in 89 volumes, had been published. At the moment of writing, almost the entire edition has been prepared for the press. After the inevitable interruption caused by the war, the State Literary Publishing House of the USSR resumed work on the edition.

According to the evidence of the textologists, a task of such dimensions, both

as regards its bulk and the amount of research required, has never been known.

The State Editorial Committee of the edition includes the well-known writers Mikhail Sholokhov, Alexander Fadeev, and A. Pankratov, corresponding-member of the Academy of Sciences.

The academic edition of Tolstoy is intended in the first place for philologists and those specializing in kindred branches, but it has also immense significance as a scholarly text of the writer's works. On the basis of this text the mass editions of separate books and of his selected works will be printed.

A Russian writer of genius, his books are popular and well-loved by the Soviet people. In Soviet years many editions have been brought out. In the first place it is necessary to point to several complete editions of his novels; for example, a 12-volume edition of fiction was published by the "Ogoniek" Publishing House, Moscow, in 1928, and 15 volumes were published in Leningrad the same year.

Printings of his works have increased year by year; the 12-volume edition that came from the Ogoniek Publishing House this year was printed in 75,000 copies. It should be mentioned that they have been bought up and it has been decided to increase the edition to 300,000 copies.

## FOLLOW THE HUSBAND!

"You must love, honour, and obey your husband", said the person advising the bride on her marital duties. "And you must follow him wherever he goes."

The wife looked aghast. "Fancy", she exclaimed, "and Jim a deeper diver."

# FROM MY NOTEBOOK

By "BEE"

## BUDDHA AND SUPRIYA

"Who among you will take up the duty of feeding the hungry?" Lord Buddha asked his followers when famine raged at Shravasti.

Ratnakar, the banker, hung his head and said, "Much more is needed than all my wealth to feed the hungry."

Jaysen, the Chief of the King's army, said, "I would gladly give my life's blood, but there is not enough food in my house."

Dharmapal, who owned broad acres of land, said with a sigh: "The drought demon has sucked my fields dry. I know not how to pay the King's dues."

Then rose Supriya, the mendicant's daughter.

She bowed to all and meekly said, "I will feed the hungry."

"How!" they cried in surprise. "How can you hope to fulfil that vow?"

"I am the poorest of you all," said Supriya, "that is my strength, I have my coffer and my store at each of your houses."

—Rabindranath Tagore.

## TREASURERS (For G.R.M.)

These are my treasures: just a word, a look,  
A chiming sentence from his favourite book,  
A large, blue, scented blossom that he found,  
And plucked for me in some enchanted ground,  
A joy he planned for us, a verse he made  
Upon a birthday, the increasing shade  
Of trees he planted by the waterside,  
The echo of a laugh, his tender pride  
In those he loved, his hand upon my hair,  
The dear voice lifted in his evening prayer.  
How safe they must be kept! So dear, so few,  
And all I have to last my whole life through.  
A silver mesh of loving words entwining,  
At every crossing thread of brittle words,  
I'll make  
A safer, humble hiding-place apart,  
And lock them in the fastness of my heart.

—Mary Webb. (JONATHAN CAPE LTD.)

## LIFT UP YOUR HEARTS

"I have seen cyclones in which thrones toppled over like ninepins, and sublime heads rolled in the dust like apples in an orchard. I have seen eclipses that seemed eternal, and the rivers, as in Egypt, turned to blood. I have seen life and death and glory chasing each other like shadows on a summer sea, and all has seemed to be vanity. But I remain in the conviction that, though individuals may suffer, when we take stock of a century at its end, we shall find that the world is better and happier than it was at the beginning. *Sursum corda.* Lift up your hearts, for the world is moving onward. Its chariot-wheel may crush for the moment, but it does not move to evil. It is guided from above, and guided we may be sure with wisdom and goodness which will not abandon us. That is the comfort which even in blackest darkness must afford light." —Lord Rosebery (Address at St. Andrews' University, 1911).

## CHLOE

Tell me no more I am deceived,  
That Chloe's false and common,  
I always knew, (at least believed),  
She was a very woman:  
As such I liked, as such caress'd,  
She could do more for no man.

But Oh! her thoughts on others ran;  
And that you think a hard thing!  
Perhaps she fancied you the man:  
And what care I one farthing?  
You think she's false, I'm sure  
she's kind,  
I take her body, you her mind,—  
Who has the better bargain?

—William Congreve.

## LAMB'S GIFT OF REPARTEE

Readiness and skill in retort form a part of Charles Lamb's fame. Some affected person was once boring Elia with praises of the English public schools and sneers at and depreciation of ordinary education. Every good thing came from the great schools. There was the case of the poets. Byron was a Harrow boy—"Yes," interrupted Lamb, with a pun that was a derisive repartee, "and Burns was a plough-boy." On another occasion a retired cheese-monger who had an intense and absurd dislike to any mention in his hearing of the source of his competence vexed Lamb by a harsh speech about the Poor Law and outcast men and women. "You must bear in mind, sir," he pompously observed, "that I have got rid of all that stuff which you poets call 'the milk of human kindness.'" Lamb looked at him blandly and steadily. "Yes, sir," he said, "I am aware of it. You turned it all into cheese several years ago."

## SUCCESS AND FAILURE

Your worldly failure, if you have failed is to your credit rather than to your blame. Remember that the best and greatest among mankind are those who do themselves no worldly good. Every successful man is more or less a selfish man. The devoted fail . . . "charity seeketh not her own."

—Thomas Hardy (JUDE THE OBSCURE.)

## THE USE OF ABILITIES

The knack of making good use of moderate abilities secures the esteem of men, and often raises to higher fame than real merit.

—La Rochefoucauld

## EVENING

It is a beauteous Evening, calm and free;  
The holy time is quiet as a Nun  
Breathless with adoration; the broad sun  
Is sinking down in its tranquillity;  
The gentleness of heaven is on the Sea:  
Listen! the mighty Being is awake,  
And doth with his eternal motion make  
A sound like thunder—everlastingly.

—Wordsworth.

## MAN

Man, so far as natural science by itself is able to teach us, is no longer the final cause of the Universe, the Heaven-descended heir of all the ages. His very existence is an accident, his story a brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets. Of the combination of causes which converted a dead organic compound into the living progenitors of humanity, science indeed as yet knows nothing. It is enough that from such beginnings—famine, disease, and mutual slaughter, fit nurses of the future lords of creation—has gradually evolved, after infinite travail, a race with conscience enough to face that it is vile, and intelligent enough to know that it is insignificant.

A. J. Balfour.

## THE AGES OF MAN

At thirty man suspects himself a fool;  
Knows it at forty, and reforms his plan;  
At fifty chides his infamous delay;  
Pushes his prudent purpose to resolve,  
Resolves and re-resolves, then dies the same.

—Shakespeare.

## THE GAME OF POLITICS

No politician can make a situation. His skill consists in his well playing the game dealt to him by fortune, and following the indications given him by nature, times, and circumstances.

—Burke.

## THE USE OF GOLD

[Lenin had no illusions about the necessity for capitalism of an objective money commodity such as gold. But he wrote:]

When we conquer on a world scale we shall, I think, use gold for making public lavatories in the streets of the great cities of the world. That would be the most "just" and graphically edifying use of gold for the generations which have not forgotten that for gold ten million people were massacred and thirty million crippled in the "great liberation" war of 1914-'18.

## THE TIDE OF CONQUEST

Here, while the tide of conquest rolls  
Against the distant golden shore,  
The starved and stunted human souls  
Are with us more and more.

Vain is your Science, vain your Art,  
Your triumphs and your glories vain,  
To feed the hunger of their heart  
And famine of their brain.

—William Watson

## SOLDIER'S SONG

[British patriotism is at bottom so sound that it can afford to be frivolous. This sort of gaiety comes of the very strength of British Character.]

Send for the boys of the girls' brigade  
To set old England free:—  
Send for my mother, and my sister and  
my brother  
But for heaven's sake don't send me.

## AND REST IN THEE

And when thy death comes, Master let  
us bear it  
As if thy will, however hard to go;  
Thy cross is infinite for us to share it  
Thy help is infinite for us to know.  
And when the long-trumpets of the  
judgment blow  
May our poor souls be glad and meet  
again  
And rest in Thee.

—Masefield

## YOUTH AND AGE

It is good to have been young in youth  
and, as years go on to grow older. Time  
changes, opinions vary to their opposite, and  
still this world appears a brave gymnasium,  
full of sea-bathing and horse exercise, and  
bracing manly virtues.....our affections  
and beliefs are wiser than we; the best that  
is in us is better than we can understand;  
for it is grounded beyond experience, and  
guides us, blindfold but safe, from one age  
to another.

—R. L. S.

## THE MIRACLE OF SPRING

Come, sweet-heart, listen, for I have a thing  
Most wonderful to tell you—news of spring  
Albeit winter still is in the air,  
And the earth troubled, and the branches  
bare,  
Yet down the fields to-day I saw her pass—  
The spring—her feet went shining through  
the grass.

John Drinkwater

## EXPECT NOTHING IN RETURN

I ask little from most men; I try to  
render them much, and to expect nothing  
in return, and I get on very well out of  
the bargain.

—Fenelon.

# THE INFANT STATE OF INDONESIA ..

BY PROF. C. S. SRINIVASACHARI

Principal, R. D. M. College, Srivilliputhur

## IV

THE draft of the Cheribon (or Linggadjati) Agreement was initialised by both the parties (the Dutch Commission-General and the Indonesian Delegation) in November 1946; but unfortunately it was neither signed, nor implemented immediately. It stipulated that the King of the Netherlands should be the Head of the Netherlands and the Indonesian Union; and that the Government of the Republic of Indonesia should be recognised as the *de facto* Government over Java, Sumatra and Madura. The component States of the United States of Indonesia were Borneo and the Great East besides the Republic of Indonesia.

The constitution of the proposed Union was to be drafted by a Conference of the representatives of the Kingdom of the Netherlands and of the future United States of Indonesia; and till that constitution should be framed, the Netherlands Government was to initiate and implement measures for adjusting the constitutional and international position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to the new situation. Within five days after the initialling of the Draft Agreement, disputes began about the meaning and scope of the above article. Sjahrir desired that the Republic should have its own accredited representatives with foreign powers. To this demand the Dutch vigorously objected. Soekarno, with his usual determination, would not accept the headship of the Netherlands Indonesian Union as stipulated by Article 8. Sjahrir could never convert Soekarno to his posi-

tion; and his endeavour to do so, only ended in his resignation of the Premiership; and the Dutch chose to begin Police Action and what was, in substance a colonial civil war, began.

To outward appearances, Sjahrir was wholeheartedly for the Linggadjati Agreement; but soon he went over to the side of Soekarno when the latter's unwavering stand made the Linggadjati Agreement impossible.

Many of the intellectuals in Holland were not for accepting the Agreement, including Calvinists and University Professors. Some were for a summary rejection of it; while a few others, particularly the head of the National Union of Trade Unions, were for ratifying it. This manifestation of growing opposition in Holland made the Indonesian leaders lose confidence in the sincerity of Dutch promise of implementation of the Agreement. This attitude made it further difficult to win the confidence of Soekarno, Hatta and other Indonesian leaders who gave out that whatever the Dutch might assert, there was no trusting their *bona fides*. Soekarno would never agree to allow his Republic to remain in the proposed Union, except as a sovereign State voluntarily entering into association with the Netherlands.

## V

Meanwhile Dutch effort actively encouraged the assertion of claims of autonomy and separate statehood by several other regions in the Archipelago. At a conference held in the Island of Bali, the State

of East Indonesia (or the Great East) was placed on a footing of full equality with the Republic of Indonesia. This new State was to comprise Borneo, Celebes, the Moluccas, all the islands between Celebes and New Guinea, and the Sunda Islands, and to have a President; and a preliminary Parliament was also to be summoned of whose members 75 per cent were elected, whereas, in the Indonesian Republic, there had never been any elections at all and all the cabinets that had functioned had been nominated by the President.

Sjahrir who went as Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia before the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation for demanding the recognition of the complete sovereignty of his Republic, argued that East Indonesia was merely a puppet State set up by the Dutch to serve as a handy factor for bargaining for unfair advantages for the Dutch in open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement.

Soon West Borneo was also declared an autonomous State within the framework of the Union and recognised as such by the Netherlands Government. The four Sultans in East Borneo agreed to form a separate State, while South and Central Borneo, with a scanty population of less than one-third million, was to form yet another State with the ridiculous name of Great Siak. Several islands of the Archipelago like Timor, now demanded self-government and a status of independence, alike of the Republic of Indonesia and of the United Nations of Indonesia, while they expressed a willingness to remain within the framework of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

In West Java the Soendanese who had a separate racial and linguistic heritage, were now induced to claim autonomy as a separate State under the name of *Pasundan*. The Dutch openly encouraged this move, the seriousness and sincerity of which were hotly denied by Sjahrir and other Indonesian leaders, because the entire island of Java was to be one and an indivisible State, and even Sumatra was to be only a province of Indonesia. Soon the Bataks, a proto-Malay people of Sumatra, were clamouring for the recognition of their own independence, raising the cry "Batak Land for the Bataks."

But Soekarno was not at all shaken by all these Dutch intrigues in creating the new States. Sjahrir characterised the Soendanese State as "a foolish and silly adventure"; and he condemned, in the strongest terms, the Dutch recognition of West Borneo as being an open violation of the Linggadjati Agreement. While atrocities continued on both sides, the Dutch troops in Java steadily increased and came to be concentrated in Batavia and Soerabaya; and Van Mook threatened to use force on those who refused to listen to reason.

In May 1947 Sjahrir declared that the fundamental questions to be solved by the Dutch were the following:

1. The withdrawal of all their troops from Indonesia;
2. The settlement of the procedure to be followed for incorporating the territories occupied then by the Dutch into the Republic; and
3. The incorporation of the whole of Indonesia into the United States of Indonesia.

Thus Sjahrir was, in spite of recent happenings, still willing to co-operate with the Dutch, and the rest of the Indies. The Republic's claim to the entire islands

of Java and Madura and Sumatra would make it not only a vastly bigger unit than the other States, but possessed of resources considerably more than those of the rest of the Archipelago; and in case the Republic opted out of the United States of Indonesia, the latter would become a mere symbolical unit of statehood and a shadow state. The Dutch Commission-General also held that the sovereignty of the Kingdom of the Netherlands should be maintained over all 'Indonesia *de jure*', during the period of transition and this condition was most essential to any implementation of the Linggadjati Agreement. Sjahrir held that the Dutch Note could only be regarded as an *ultimatum*, a negative reply to which could only mean war.

By this time (June 1947) the Dutch had as many as 90,000 armed troops in Sumatra and Java, much more than was necessary to put down terrorists and extremist elements and maintain internal security. The counter-proposals of Sjahrir were not acceptable to the Dutch. According to the proposals, the Union Government was to be composed exclusively of representatives of the Republic of East Indonesia and of Borneo in which the Republic should have one-half of the share in the composition of the Ministry and the decision was to be by a majority vote and the Representative of the Crown of the Netherlands should have only the right to refuse assent to any resolution of the Ministry which conflicted with the interests of the Netherlands, while representatives of the Republic were to be accredited on a basis of full sovereignty to Foreign Powers. These counter-proposals eliminated every

kind of Dutch influence, except the mere shadow and practically established the Republic as the Paramount Power in Indonesia. Further explanations and clarifications continued for a time between Sjahrir and Van Mook. But Soekarno and the solid Indonesian opinion behind him were not for any conciliation at all; and Sjahrir quietly resigned from his Premiership and from the Chairmanship of the Indonesian Delegation.

A new Indonesian Ministry was formed under the alternative leader, Sjarnioedin. Perhaps the Dutch might, by their military action, have easily split Java into two halves and also occupied all the important places in Sumatra, where, in reality, there were no effective rallying centres for the Republicans.

Dutch Military action in 1947 in Indonesia caused a flutter in many a foreign office; and Pandit Nehru at Delhi vigorously condemned it as "an astounding thing which the new spirit of Asia will not tolerate" and declared that if the U. N. O. tolerated such action, it would cease to be." It was only the persistent and vigorous calls to action and unyielding resistance from the Jogjakarta radio that gave a fillip to the resistance of the Republic.

Australian public opinion condemned Dutch action in the strongest terms. Mr. Bevin, the British Foreign Secretary, openly regretted in Parliament the renewal of military operations by the Netherlands Government. Dutch air power was often misused in bombing non-military targets. From the U. S. A., and from Russia, voices issued condemning the Dutch action. Thus the Dutch found world opinion arrayed

against them and saw that any attempt on their part to settle the Indonesian question at their own discretion was effectively precluded.

In the course of the discussions in the Security Council of U.N.O. the Dutch Ambassador declared that his government had accepted an offer of mediation made by the U.S.A., but the Russian and Polish representatives called for an immediate cessation of hostilities. The British representative, Mr. Lawford, took his stand on an article of the Charter of the U.N.O. (Art. II, para 7) according to which the Council was not empowered to interfere in the domestic affairs of member-states, and any interference in Indonesia should be preceded by a pronouncement that the whole question was not a domestic issue. Finally, the Council decided by a good majority, that both the parties should be asked to cease hostilities forthwith and to settle their dispute by arbitration or by some other peaceful means. Russia even went so far as to call both sides to withdraw into the positions that they had occupied respectively before the beginning of hostilities.

The Dutch stopped their Military Action at midnight on the 4th of August 1947. The Indonesian Government announced that they would make every effort to obey the Security Council's order, but they were not certain whether they could straightway control all the extremist elements on their side and also whether the Dutch troops would abstain completely from provocations to such elements.

Thus the Dutch failed in this 1947 move of theirs and world opinion had clearly gone against them. Indonesia had gained

a notable victory. The Security Council of U.N.O. upheld the contention of Sjahrir that the States of West Borneo and East Indonesia had no right to be represented before the Council. And thus Soekarno won the last round in the critical two-year's struggle for his State's recognition (August 1945 to August 1947.) He had never wavered in his attitude nor given way even one inch from his stand, nor expressed any kind of difference in his own cause, and he openly cast aside the Linggadjati Agreement and demanded the complete withdrawal of the Dutch Troops from the entire Archipelago, claiming all Indonesia for his State. The battle is being fought over again.

(Concluded.)

## ALONE

BY MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

Alone, O Love! I tread the blossoming glades  
The bright, accustomed alleys of delight,  
Pomegranate-gardens of the mellowing dawn,  
Serene and sumptuous orchards of the night.

Alone, O Love! I breast the glimmering  
[ waves,  
The lustrous tides of life's familiar streams,  
The seas of hope, the rivers of desire,  
The moon-enchanted estuaries of dreams.

But no compassionate wind or comforting  
[ star  
Brings me sweet word of thine abiding-  
[ place.....

In what predestined hour of joy or tears  
Shall I attain the sanctuary of thy face?

—The Indian Review, May, 1949.

## British Justice in Theory and Practice

[Viscount Jowitt, Lord Chancellor of England recently spoke of British Justice in Theory and Practice at the School of Oriental and African Studies on February 12. Addressing the members of the Indian Students' Union, London, he drew attention to the traditions of British legal methods which Free India has inherited: "The time is coming" said the Lord Chancellor, "when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it: that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain, and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life."—ED. I.R.]

LOOKING back over a life which has become uncomfortably long, I regret I have never had the opportunity of visiting India. In 1930 I had the honour of being a member of the original Round Table Conference. I had the duty of presiding over all of the committees and everyone of them, at any rate, I succeeded in achieving a unanimous report—which was no mean achievement!

One of the consolations for losing the office I now hold, if such an event is at all possible, is that I shall then have the opportunity of visiting India. Whatever the future relationship in the form of legalities, may or may not be between India and Britain, there will ever be a sentimental affection and regard for the one people to the other, and it is quite certain we shall watch your destiny with profound interest, and we believe our own destiny will not be without its interest to you.

We shall do all we can to help you in the terrific experiment you are making, and you in your turn will do what you can to help us in the very real difficulties that beset us.

You are starting upon your constitution. Talleyrand used to say "A constitution should be short and obscure." We have got on rather well without one. There was once a distinguished French writer, Rousseau, who started writing a book on the British Constitution. After having studied the matter

very carefully, he came to the conclusion that there was no such thing. That, broadly speaking is true.

### ENGLISHMEN LACK LOGICAL SENSE

English people are deficient in one quality, and that is, a logical sense. Our institutions do not bear the test of the most elementary logic. When an Englishman strives to become logical, he almost always becomes slightly ridiculous. The reason is not far to seek. We have never had, in our long history, such a complete upheaval as has taken place with other nations. We have never had to start again and to think out our institutions afresh.

We take an old institution handed down by our forefathers—we do not bother whether it is logical—and we say, Does it work? If it does not we alter and amend it and make it work. We have never pulled our institutions up by the roots and tried to reconstruct them on logical grounds. Always remember that the English approach to those problems is not, "Is it not logical? but, Does it work?"

If you want a simple illustration, you can have no better one than the office that I have the honour to hold. Who the first Lord Chancellor was, no one now knows for certain. Campbell, who used to write the lives of the Lord Chancellors (and is supposed by Lord Chancellors to have added a new

terror to death!) gives the distinction to Saint Augustine, who came here in the year 614 A.D. to preach the gospel and reform the laws, and although I do not do much in the way of preaching the gospel, I do what I can to reform the laws.

That was rather a long time ago. It is certainly a fact the Lord Chancellor's office existed before the Norman Conquest in 1066 (the one date and the only date that all Englishmen know!). Therefore, my office is second only in antiquity to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the only one which derives from Anglo-Saxon times, untouched by the logic which the French endeavoured to bring in, without much success.

#### JUDGES' INDEPENDENCE

My position is peculiar. I firmly believe that in any constitution which you are going to have in India, you must see that your judges are absolutely independent, free to express themselves as they like, and independent of the executive. Yet here am I, the head of the Judiciary, and also at the same time a member of the Executive and the Legislature.

When Mr. Bevin, who takes the same view as I do about the fundamental importance of the freedom of the Judiciary, sends me abroad to speak about it, they, point the finger of scorn at me and say, You are all three? I am Speaker in the House of Lords, Keeper of the King's Conscience (which is much easier to keep than my own!) and the performer of all sorts of odd jobs.

But I have tried, since I have been Lord Chancellor, to see that any question of judicial patronage should be exercised absolutely without regard to politics at all: Never

mind what a man's politics are—if you want to get a judge, you want the best possible judge you can get. That is what I have tried to do. If you are going to have judges doing their work without interference from the Executive you must also have a free Bar—perfectly fearless in expressing opinions and doing the best for their clients, and letting nothing interfere except the rules of the game.

When we see some of these trials which go on in certain foreign countries, where the accused person can only have a nominated counsel who will get into frightful trouble with the authorities unless he is very careful, you see what impossible conditions arise.

The freedom of the citizens of Britain depends on a free judiciary which, in turn, depends on a free Bar, and that, as a last resort, depends on twelve good men and true, summoned into the jury box to try the case.

#### HARMONY AMID CONFLICTS

A great problem of the day which besets us, and which will beset you in India very much, is how to harmonise two conflicting ideas: first, the preservation of the freedom of the individual to say, to do, and to think what he likes and to work at what he prefers; and second, the difficulty that if we in this country or you in India, are going to get out of the perils which manifestly confront us, we have to have a planned economy, and society has to be arranged accordingly.

I do not think we are going to maintain a population of 50 million people in this

country producing only one-third of the food we consume unless we do a great deal of thinking and planning, and ensuring that the right jobs are taken by our people in order that the food we eat can be produced. I do not think that can be achieved by haphazard methods which might have been good enough in the past.

But if you embark on a planned economy to get out of your economic difficulties, you are going to sacrifice individual freedom and make the workers of your country not independent and free but like a lot of ants obeying orders from a Fuehrer or a Commissar. In those circumstances, everything which Britain has stood for and will stand for will go down the drain.

That is our colossal problem. That is why it is of fundamental importance that you should take the greatest care in your administration of justice to see that your courts are free. I wish some of you could see the working of the ordinary judicial machine, and have the opportunity to hear what a trial is like. If you only get your impressions from the films, then God help you!

#### AMOROUS SCENE IN COURT

I went to see a film showing a trial at the Old Bailey. I became so angered that I wanted to leave the cinema, but my wife restrained me. Everybody in the film was amorous. The judge caught hold of the hand of the counsel's wife, the defending counsel was accompanied by his wife wherever he went and eventually fell in love with his client and his conduct was so ridiculous that I could not believe he has ever passed his examinations. As a climax we saw the judge sitting down to

dinner, his wife dressed in an elaborate costume, which must have come from Paris; the judge wearing dress clothes and smoking a cigar, obviously Havana, and drinking brandy. The truth, of course, would be that when the judge came back from the trial he and his wife would be sitting in the kitchen sharing a glass of beer and after dinner he would be doing the washing up?

So do not take your ideas of justice from the films

It is essential, too, that trials must take place in public. I would not trust any judge I knew well enough to conduct cases in private. There is nothing like the full glare of publicity. There are very exceptional cases involving Official Secrets, where you must hold the case in camera, but these are very rare exceptions.

#### PRIVY COUNCIL

I preside over the Privy Council, a very great institution. It is quite wrong to think of it as a court of the United Kingdom. It has on it representatives of the various parts of the King's territories overseas.

The time is coming when Indian appeals will no longer be heard by the Privy Council. But one legacy has been handed down to you, and I know you will guard it jealously and improve it: that is, our system of administration of justice. I have no fear at all that you in India in the future will preserve, maintain and uphold our system of justice which is the best legacy we can give you in your new start in life.

I have also to appoint judges. I cannot remove a judge. He can only be removed by an Address of both Houses. No judge

has been removed in this fashion for over the past 200 years

In addition, we have the County Court Judges of whom there are sixty in England. I appoint them and have the power to remove them. That power has never been exercised within living memory. You will see that in practice, if not in theory, our judges are completely free.

#### INDIVIDUAL'S RIGHT TO SUE

In regard to the Legal Aid Bill which has been introduced by the Government, I have felt there is no doubt that the possession of ample means has given people an advantage that others less well off do not possess in regard to litigation. That is wrong. A distinguished judge once said, "The courts are open to everybody. So is the Ritz Hotel". We must see that people are not precluded through lack of money from going to the courts in proper cases. Therefore, I have evolved a scheme to enable people, if they have a good case, to bring it at the public expense if they have not enough money to do it themselves.

Who will judge whether the case is good? Not the executive, not me—the Law Society, an absolutely independent body. Against whom can an action be brought? I was very happy recently to do away with the ancient rule, "The King can do no wrong." Now you can sue any Minister, any State Department just as you can sue Gammages Stores. In future we shall actually be allowing people who have a case against a minister or his Department to go to the Law Society and obtain public money in order to bring a case against a Minister of the Crown.

I think there is a danger to-day of these great Departments and institutions riding

roughshod over the little man like a juggernaut. Let us see that the little man has the right of redress and can bring an action in the courts.

This is a good practical illustration of what I mean when I say we must preserve the right of the individual. If I have done nothing else, I shall be thought not altogether unworthy because I have done away with the old rule that you cannot sue the Crown and, have introduced the scheme under which a rich man shall have no undue legal advantage over the poor man.

There is a great deal to be done to reform our Law. It is highly skilled work. It cannot be done without experience. If I had sufficient number of experts I could very soon reduce our Law to more manageable proportions.

#### HOUSE OF LORDS

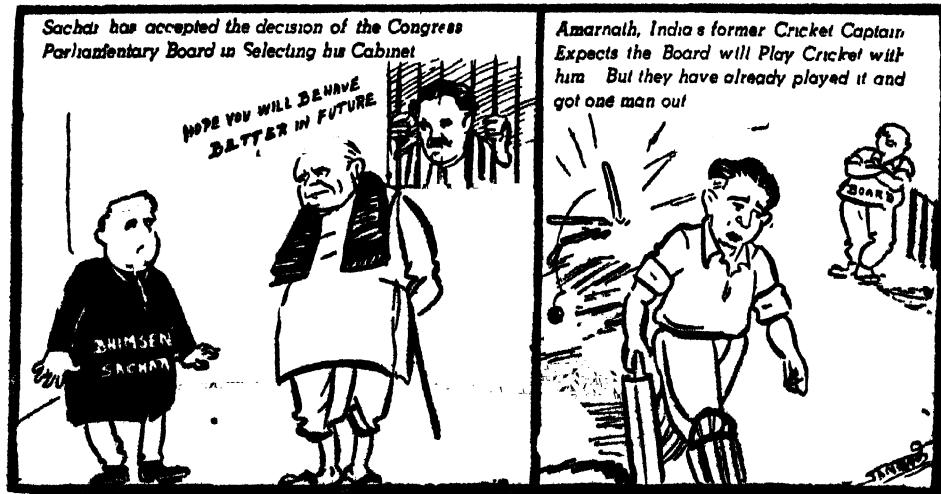
Finally, I have, in conjunction with my colleagues, my ordinary duties as a member of the Cabinet. I am first adviser to the Cabinet on all legal questions. There are very few questions to-day which do not involve some legal consideration. In addition I am speaker of the House of Lords. Unlike the Speaker in the House of Commons, the Speaker in the House of Lords is not king of the situation. In the Lords we have no rules of order at all. If some-one misbehaves himself and talks in an unseemly way, I cannot call him to order. Someone may raise a question that the member who is speaking "be no longer heard." After that, he can continue to speak!

In consequence of this absence of rules, we are by far the best behaved assembly in the world, which shows you what an awful lot there is to be said for free institutions. With all its rules and regulations, the House of Commons to-day behaves in a way we would stily dream of behaving.

# TOPICAL CARTOONS



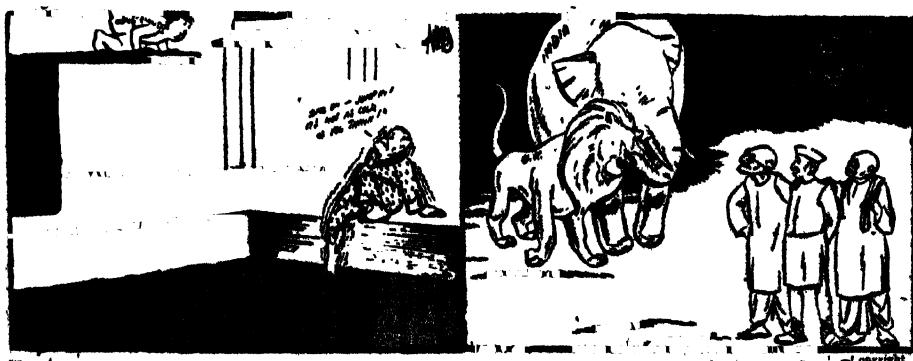
Courtesy : The Hindustan Times.



Courtesy : Free India,



Courtesy : Free India.



Courtesy : The Hindustan Times.

# Home and Foreign Affairs

By "AN INDIAN JOURNALIST"

## Commons and the London Decision

SINCE his return from the Commonwealth Conference in London, Pandit Nehru, India's Prime Minister, has had more than one occasion to speak out his mind in regard to India's position in the Commonwealth. He and his colleagues in the Government of India are convinced that the final decision as agreed to at the conference is one fully in accord with India's status and intentions since Independence Day. But even that agreement was subject to ratification by the Constituent Assembly.

Commending the London decision to the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister said that the declaration was in conformity with "our old pledges" and in no way limited India's freedom of sovereignty. He added that if India dissociated herself from the Commonwealth for the moment, she would be completely isolated and she could not remain like that. "The Commonwealth," he added, "does not come in the way of our co-operation and friendship with other countries."

Referring to social discrimination practised against Indians, Pandit Nehru said: "When we have an alliance with a nation or a group of nations, it does not mean that we accept their other policies." He said it was a dangerous thing to bring such issues within the purview of the Commonwealth because we would then be treating the Commonwealth as a superior body, which principle, if accepted, would have meant diminution in our independence.

## Aid to Burma

It will be recalled that on the eve of the Commonwealth Conference in London, Thakin Nu the Burmese Premier visited Delhi and Karachi with a view to seek Commonwealth help in restoring peace and order in Burma. As a result of the talks Britain, India, Pakistan and Ceylon which are closely allied to Burma, as near neigh-

hours and friends agreed to supply money and munitions. Steps are immediately taken to implement that decision and we are glad that Burma is in a fair way to get supplies in meeting the emergency. Experts in Rangoon will, it seems, work out details of the amount and scope of such assistance and the allocation of the respective contributions in cash and kind among the four Commonwealth Powers. The British Foreign Secretary made this position "perfectly clear" by stating that the British Government believed that

it was essential for South-East Asia that steps be taken to get order restored in the whole of that territory by a co-ordinated effort.

India's interest in seeing peace and order restored in her borders, is of course, paramount. It is hoped that Thakin Nu's Government would be able to put the aid to the best use.

## Fall of Shanghai

With the fall of Shanghai the greatest city in China and the East, the victorious troops of Mao Tse-tung, the Communist leader may be said to have swept away all Nationalist opposition. Militarily, the collapse of the Kuomintang forces was a forgone conclusion. The advancing Reds have had a good prize. But even more than the present success is the possible repercussion of this victory over the future of China. It is clear the victory is as much due to the superiority of the Red army in morale and numbers as to defections from the Government forces. Chiang's Government has definitely lost the people's support and much depends on the statesmanship of the Red leader in rallying together all Chinese elements and in facing the world with the united voice of China. Communist or Kuomintang, if China is one and indivisible its voice will prevail in the counsels of the world. The big powers will be forced to recognise the inevitable.

## Editors in Conference

It was a happy choice they made when the A. I. N. Editors elected Mr. C. R. Srinivasan of the *Swadeshamitran* to preside over their deliberations at Bangalore. For, Mr. Srinivasan is undoubtedly the doyen of the vernacular press in India having been connected with his paper for over five and thirty years. Nationalist papers in India, irrespective of the language they employed, have always been the spearhead of Indian freedom, and it is quite in the fitness of things that this well known Editor of a popular newspaper with the reputation and traditions of the *Swadeshamitran* should have been unanimously chosen to guide the Conference at a time when more than ever, the press has need to reorientate its policy and method of work in free India. For apart from being a working journalist with a flair for news and popular writing, he has business acumen and tact which have abundantly been proved in the way he negotiated many a big deal, particularly in connection with the launching of the Press Trust of India—the great achievement of our time in the field of news service. Journalism was comparatively easy work in British India, though by no means less important, for the Indian Nationalist Press in those days, always patriotic and working with a mission, was mainly concerned with attacking and resisting the alien rule. Dexterity in evading 124A was the main thing in successful journalism. In a way it was irresponsible, though necessary, work in those days. But now the situation is different. The Government is ours and we cheerfully share with it the responsibility for the well being of the State. Hence Mr. Srinivasan in his speech dealt exhaustively with the problems confronting the newspaper profession and in particular referred to the relations of the Press with the Government. He said :

We shall stand behind the Government in all their efforts to control disruptive forces, establish peace and order and redeem national economy. Government, however, should not presume therefrom that whatever they do we shall always support them. That will cut at the very root of the responsibility we are expected to exercise in

public interest. Where we feel that a particular policy is misconceived or a particular action misdirected it is our duty to strike a note of caution. I am constrained to say this because I find in some quarters impatience and even intolerance of criticism.

It is no pleasure to criticise people who by their services and sacrifices have earned our respect; but many who hold high offices to-day are new to administrative responsibilities and if they err in ignorance or prejudice, it is our duty to pull them up. The absence of an effective opposition in the Assemblies to-day makes this task doubly necessary.

These are wise words and well conceived, as they express in a nutshell sober and responsible criticism which is as sensitive to the claims of the State as it is vigilant and watchful of the interests of the free Press in a free State.

As if to mark and emphasise the significance of the new change that has come over the press in India the Editors' Conference was inaugurated by the Governor-General himself—a thing that could not have been thought of under the old regime.

## Four Freedoms of Information

Four freedoms of information have been set down in the proposed International Convention on Freedom of Information, drafted by the General Assembly's Social Committee.

The Committee approved by twenty-eight votes to six, with seven abstentions, a British article which in effect, guarantees everyone, the freedom to listen and to speak, the freedom to hear and to read; the freedom to seek information without Government interference; and the freedom of movement for those who are engaged in seeking the truth.

**Maurice Maeterlinck**

Maurice Maeterlinck of Belgium whose death was reported the other day is rated as one of the foremost dramatists of Europe. One of his finest works, a fantasia, "Bluebird," was rendered on the screen by Hollywood.

Maeterlinck touched life with the harp of an Ariel and had a few but fit audience among the intellectuals in the East and West. Poetic minds in India found a strange fascination for the cobwebs he wove in words.

### The Minorities

What the Prime Minister Pandit Nehru described as "a historic turn in our destiny" was taken by the Constituent Assembly the other day when it passed with acclamation Sardar Patel's motion for the abolition of reservation for all minorities except the Scheduled Castes, as modified by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's amendment suggesting that reservation for Scheduled Castes should be only for a period of 10 years.

The House rejected by an overwhelming majority two other amendments, one moved by Mr. Mahomed Ismail (Madras) seeking to retain reservation, and the other by Mr. Z. H. Lari (U.P.) suggesting the introduction of the system of cumulative voting.

This is the welcome end of a disastrous experiment the lessons of which we have learnt at a terrible cost. The highlights of the occasion were the moving speech of the veteran Christian leader Dr. H. C. Mukherji and the Sardar's spirited reply to the debate.

The Sardar uttered a warning against continuance of separatist tendencies and said he would "respectfully appeal" to all those who still believed in the two-nation theory to go "and enjoy the fruits of their freedom and leave us in peace." There was no place in this country for people who claimed separate representation.

### Pandit Krishna Ram

A link with the Old Guards of Journalism has snapped in the death of Pandit Krishna Ram Mehta of Allahabad. Only four years ago he retired from the *Leader* after having served the paper for five and thirty years in various capacities. He joined the *Leader* at the instance of Sir C. Y. Chintamani, the founder Editor, whom he served loyally to the end. Doubtless Chintamani's personality dominated the paper but the *Leader* owed not a little to the perseverance and devotion of Krishna Ram. His work was efficient and unostentatious.

### Pak-India Relations

Sir Mahomed Zafrullah's attempt to dig up the Hyderabad issue in the U.N. and Pakistan's truce violation in Kashmir are evidences of the fruitlessness of India's one way traffic in good-will. As if these were not enough the true story of Liaquat Ali's outburst at the Commonwealth Conference in London reveals the mentality of men whose hearts are set on doing injury to India. It is reported that the Pak Prime Minister did his best to shut India out of the Commonwealth on the ground of her declaration of sovereign independence but was promptly pulled up by Mr. Attlee who is alive to the strength and value of India to the Commonwealth. It would be interesting to watch the kind of polity that Pakistan proposes to evolve to retain her place in the Commonwealth. India, it must be remembered, decided on the Republican status irrespective of the Commonwealth formula and she sticks to it, whether in or outside the Commonwealth.

### Batavia Agreement

Dutch-Indonesian relationship has seen such frequent vicissitudes that it is perhaps premature to enthuse over the latest agreement entered into between the Dutch delegation headed by Van Royen and the Indonesian delegation headed by Muhammad Roem at Batavia. At any rate, this has been enough to impress the United Nations as proof of good faith on either side and on the motion of India and Australia the Indonesian question which was on the agenda for the current session has been postponed till the next. The Soviet delegate, Jacob Malik, opposing postponement declared characteristically enough that the Batavia Agreement was a manoeuvre of the Netherlands Government and "its two protectors the United States and the United Kingdom."

### Israel Admitted to U. N.

At long last Israel has become the 59th member of the United Nations. By a vote of 37 to 12, with nine abstentions, the General Assembly on May 11 decided to admit Israel immediately.

# The WORLD of BOOKS

(ONLY SHORT NOTICES APPEAR IN THIS SECTION)

**THE BRITISH SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT.** By William A. Robson. Published for the British Council by Longmans, Green & Co.

This is a short outline of the British Governmental Institutions and describes the functions and status of the King, the Parliament, Political Parties, and the main functions of Parliament. The process of delegating the work of legislation from Parliament to Government Departments and other public institutions is noted. Parliament's efficiency, as an instrument of debate is stressed and the combination of power, leadership and responsibility in the Cabinet is explained. The formation of public Corporations, the traditional efficiency of Civil Service and the close connection between Local Self-Government and Democracy are all pointed out. The peculiar manner in which the citizen is guaranteed his liberties, and the temper which sustains the entire working of British Democracy are outlined in brief, but clear narrative.

**COMPLETE INCOME-TAX READY RECKONER 1949.** By Rusi C. Doodhmal, J.P., G.D.A.R.A, F.I.S.A, A.I.C.W.A., F.T.I.I (Lond.) "Empire Terrace," Lamington Road, Bombay-7. Price Rs. 5.

This is the tenth edition of the ready-reckoner brought out to conform to the changes introduced into the income-tax structure of this country by the New Finance Act of 1949. The tables provided are comprehensive and have been prepared with reference to the needs of all varieties of income-tax payers. The book is therefore of value to all income-tax assessors, officers, practitioners, auditors and the like. But for the price, the book should be more popular.

**THE FACTORIES ACT—1948.** By P. Patwari. Indian Legal Publications, near Khadia Chowky, Ahmedabad.

One of the first Acts of the Nehru Government after August 1947, was to make Factory Legislation in India comprehensive. Since the passing of the previous Factory Act of 1934, the U. K. passed two subsequent legislations one in 1937 and another in 1948. The Government of India decided to keep pace and the Factory Act of 1948 is the result.

The latter containing nearly 120 sections has introduced many new features in the sphere of factory administration and therefore a complete knowledge of the Act, its provision and explanation of the latter is necessary for those concerned. Mr. Patwari's book is an annotation of the Act of 1948 and therefore fulfils this need.

The book contains useful references to case law, points of difference from previous legislation and a very useful subject index. Mr. Justice K. C. Sen, President, Industrial Court, Bombay has written a Foreword for the book.

**THREE FAMOUS TALES.** By A. S. P. Aiyar G. V. K. Swamy & Co., Price annas ten.

In Three Famous Tales we have the story of Harischandra and his promise to sacrifice to God Varuna a substitute boy Sunshasepa in the place of his own son. The moral taught is the wickedness and barbarity of human sacrifice. The second story is about Nala and Damayanti; and the last is about Bimbisara, the Saisunaga King of Maghada and his slow starvation by his own son Ajatasatru who was stung into penitence for his parricide action before the Buddha.

**HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA:** By Swami Sadananda (All India Arya Dharma Seva Sangha.) Price Rs. 2.

It is now fairly well known that Indian culture had flourished in many neighbouring countries during many centuries about the Christian era. Remains of various kinds found in Ceylon and Burma, Malaya, Indo-China and Siam, Java, Sumatra and other islands show the high level of the varied forms of Indian culture that prevailed there. In various Indian books the cultural activities of these regime have found a place though they are referred to by other forms of their name, as Yava for Java, Suvarnadwipa for Sumatra, Champa for Annam, and Varunadwipa for Borneo. The magnificent architectural works of Borobudur are well known examples of Hindu religious art. The temples, the image of various gods, customs like swayamvara, stories of all kinds and a hundred other things attest the thorough way in which Hindu culture

had permeated the life of all those Eastern countries.

But as yet there is only a vague notion of this in the mind of even educated people. Swami Sadananda's book is very necessary and helpful for giving not only scholars but also general readers an excellent idea of the extent to which Hindu culture had spread into the neighbouring countries.

**DISCOURSES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA.** By the late Mangal Charan. With a foreword by S. Radhakrishnan, Publisher, Awadhesh Kumar Tewari, Patna.

The book under notice is the summary of the lectures of the author on the Gita. The author has not merely studied the Gita from the traditional point of view but has also reflected on it from the modern scientific standpoint. At places the interpretation is strained and ingenious. The book could have been compressed with profit to the reader.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

[Z]

**LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA.** Advaita Ashram Mayavati, Almora.

**THUS SPOKE THE MAHATMA.** By M. K. Krishnan, Asoka Betel Nut Factory, Coimbatore.

**AN EXPERIMENT IN SOCIAL EDUCATION.** By K. G. Sajivdai, Educational Adviser to Bombay Government, Bombay.

**A COMMUNIST AT THE CROSS-ROAD.** By S. F. Desai. With Foreword by Sir H. F. Mody Kt, and introduction by Prof. J. J. Asena, M.A. New Book Co, Ltd., Bombay.

**THE PERMANENT SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL AND ITS RESULTS.** By S. Gopal, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London.

**HANDBOOK OF INDO-AUSTRIAN TRADE.** Compiled by E. V. S. Maniam and M. C. Gupta. The Bureau of Economic Research, P. B. 45, Cawnpore.

**THE BUDGET 1949-50 AND ITS ECONOMIC BACKGROUND.** By The Sydenham College Group, Nanda Publications, Bombay.

**GURU GHOSH AND HIS DRAMAS.** By Swami Jagadiswarananda, The Book House, 15, College Square, Calcutta.

**BUILDING, CIVIL ENGINEERING AND PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE.** International Labour Office, Geneva Indian Branch, Delhi.

**MR. GANDHI THE MAN.** By Milli Graham Polak, with Foreword by C. F. Andrews, Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay.

**NEWSLETTERS OF THE MUGHAL COURT.** Edited by Prof. B. D. Verma, M.A., Govt. Central Press, Bombay.

**STUDIES IN RAMAYANA.** By Dewan Bahadur K. S. Ramaswami Sastry, Deptt. of Education Baroda, Rs. 7-8.

**HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA.** By Swami Sadananda All India Arya Dharma Seva Sangha P.O. Birsa Lines, Sabzi Mandi, Delhi.

**THE UNIVERSITY OF RAJPUTANA.** By Dr. G. S. Mehta (Jaipur Pamphlets on Public Affairs) The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

**THE UNIVERSITY: ITS FOUR PILLARS.** By Dr. G. S. Mehta, Vice Chancellor, Rajputana University. The Information Bureau, Jaipur.

**RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING IN THE CONSTRUCTION INDUSTRIES.** International Labour Office, Geneva.

# DIARY OF THE MONTH

May 1. Bombay Govt. takes over Baroda.

May 2. Central Govt to take over Bhopal.

May 3. Exchange Bank suspends payment.

May 4. Big Four, meeting in New York, agree to end the German blockade.

May 5. Pandit Nehru returns to India.

May 6. INTUC meets at Indore.

May 7. Dutch-Republican talks at Batavia.

May 8. Conference of Governors at Delhi.

May 9. S. A. Indian question debated in U. N. Political Committee.

May 10. Smt. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador arrives in Washington.

May 11. U. N. Political Committee rejects S. African resolution on India.

May 12. Batavia pact endorsed by the Dutch.

May 13. Reds close in on Shanghai.

May 14. H. E. Rajaji opens the Patalalingsa Temple at Tiruvannamalai.

May 15. U. N. Assembly votes for R. T. C. in Indo-S. A. dispute.

May 16. All India Newspaper Editors' Conference meets at Bangalore.

May 17. India Govt. take over Rampur.

May 18. U. N. Assembly rejects Anglo-Italian proposal for Italy's former colonies.

May 19. Seige of Shanghai.

May 20. Karens proclaim new State.

May 21. A. I. C. C. meet at Yunnan Dun.

May 22. Nehru condemns Pak violations.

May 23. West German constitution formally proclaimed at Bonn.

May 24. Foreign Ministers meet at Paris.

May 25. Fall of Shanghai to the Reds.

May 26. Kashmir to have four representatives in the Constituent Assembly.

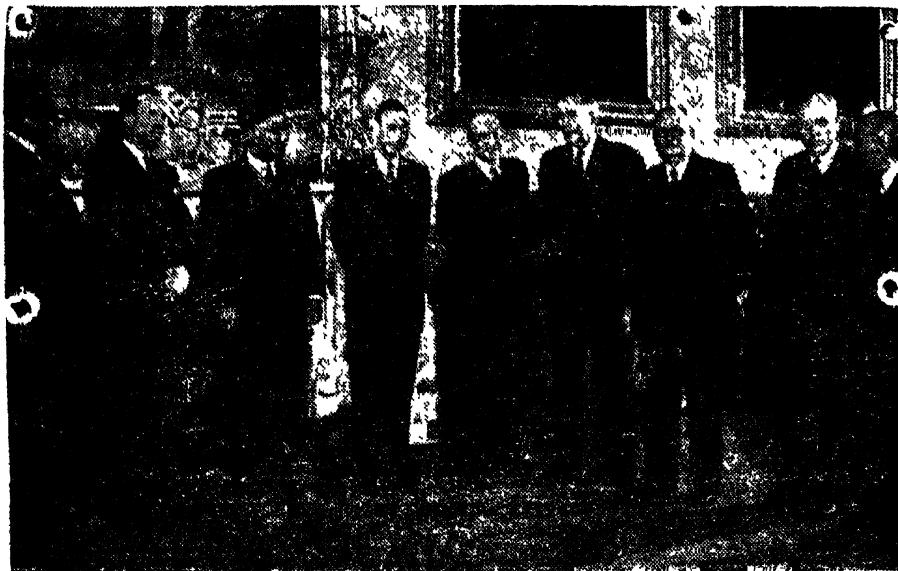
May 27. Travancore Maharaaja signs Covenant.

May 28. Cochin ruler gives assent.

May 29. Pandit Nehru, speaking at Srinagar, gives assurance to Kashmir.

May 30. 17 S. A. Indians under Bonus Scheme arrive in Bombay.

May 31. Constituent Assembly favours nomination of Governors.



THE KING AND THE PRIME MINISTERS

# TOPICS From PERIODICALS

## THE WORLD OF THE FREE

One hundred years hence the third Assembly of the United Nations will be remembered for the adoption of two documents, the Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention outlawing genocide. According to Louis Dolivet, International Editor of the *U.N. World* these two documents are such titanic achievements that they outweigh all the innumerable weaknesses of the United Nations.

What the UN has done is to provide for the extirpation of that which is the most evil in man and the exaltation of that which is noblest.

The UN has dared to reach deep into the darkest recesses of bestial and homicidal instincts. It has taken into account all the horrible crimes committed throughout the centuries—in particular by the Axis powers in World War II—and proclaimed them to be what they always have been: crimes incompatible with the spirit of justice.

Had such a convention outlawing genocide been in existence and ratified by most of the governments of the earth, many of the unspeakable acts of torture and mass murder committed by the Nazis and Fascists would never have taken place. For had such a convention existed, every member of the Axis hierarchy—from the prime minister to the gauleiter, from concentration camp guard to intellectual accomplice or writer glorifying the Nazi concept—would have known that he was committing a crime against humanity and that he would be punished for it by an international court.

The important thing about the genocide convention is that it specifically puts the responsibility for the crime on the individual, and that once the convention is ratified, no one will be able to hide behind the pretext of "higher orders."

The Declaration of Human Rights contains the highest precepts of all religions and the common qualities of the great political bills of rights—written into the Magna Carta and into the basic law of the United States and France. It is now transformed into a universal proclamation of the immortal dignity of man.

The Assembly knew that it was setting such high standards of human behaviour that enforcement alone would not be sufficient. Therefore the declaration proclaims that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance.

Eulogizing upon the Charter and widening its scope, the Assembly has added to rights and freedoms due to every man without distinction as to race, color, sex, language and religion, the words "political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status."

The declaration, not satisfied with proclaiming the right of every one to life, establishes the rights without which life is not worth living. In the same breath in which it states the right to live, it establishes the right to liberty and security of person. It forbids slavery in any form, torture, and cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 13 of the declaration sets new standards for human dignity when it proclaims:

No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

The remnants of discrimination and prejudice in the U.S. and the colonial territories of the earth, the limitations on individual freedom in the Soviet Union and adjacent countries, and all the other remaining obstacles in the hearts and minds of almost every human being henceforth will become not only a violation of the human status, and of national constitutions, but crimes against the international community itself.

The Editor says in conclusion that new era is dawning upon mankind—an era so full of promise and so nearly within the reach of the world, because of the decision of the General Assembly, that every human being who wants to act in the interest of mankind has a task before him.

Make the convention against genocide and the Declaration of Human Rights a binding law within your countries, your communities, your homes. Only so will it become the law of all mankind.

## CHINA'S COLLAPSE

The collapse of China's Nationalist regime is a long and sordid story of intrigue, treachery, bad leadership and corruption, writes W. M. Towler in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*.

After coming to power with Communist co-operation, Chiang Kai-shek struck at his temporary allies in 1937 and imprisoned and executed many of them. By doing so, he created a wave of bitterness that has never since subsided.

The survivors at first went underground; then they reorganized and from various strongholds in remote parts of the country waged guerilla war against the Government for ten years. Suddenly there came the remarkable episode when Chiang was kidnapped at Siam by one of his own generals and was persuaded or forced to call off the campaign against the Communists. This was in 1937.

Chiang then agreed to the formation of a united front in which all Chinese forces—Nationalist and Communist—would act together to resist Japanese aggression. This uneasy truce lasted until a few months before the end of the second World War, when it became obvious that Japan would soon go down in utter defeat under the blows delivered against her by the armed forces of the United Nations.

Soviet Russia played a big part in the background of all these moves—and played an even bigger one in the early days after Japan's downfall.

The Chinese Nationalist-Communist united front of 1937 came soon after the signing of the anti-Comintern pact by Germany and Japan. To ward off the Japanese threat to herself, Russia pushed the Chinese Communists into their bargain with Chiang.

With the civil war (temporarily) ended and Chinese forces united Japan was then kept busy enough in China, leaving the Russians unhindered in their task of building up the Far Eastern Army.

During the Second World War, the Chinese Communists infiltrated behind the Japanese lines in North China and the Japs were

defeated. The Communists were able immediately to take control of a very large area. Very soon they ignored all orders from the Nationalist Government and set up their own administration. The uneasy alliance was ended. As the Japanese left, the scramble began between the Communists and the Nationalists for the principal cities of North China.

With the help of American transport and supplies, Nationalist troops were able to take over Peiping, Tientsin and other cities, but they were unable to control much of the countryside. In no time at all the old civil war had broken out once more. The Russians, who, in the last few days of the war, had been able to march into Manchuria, now came into the picture again. As they left Manchuria they made sure that the Chinese Communist forces took over from them. And they handed over to them at the same time the vast quantities of arms and ammunition abandoned there by the Japanese.

With these Mao Tse-tung's armies have brought the American-trained, well-armed Nationalist forces to their knees. Only in recent months—after the fall of Peiping, Tientsin and Suchow to the Communists—did the Americans become tired of sending money and materials to help those who proved unable to help themselves.

In a two years' campaign the Communists crept slowly downwards from the North. The spectacular collapse of Chiang's forces came since the launching of the autumn offence in October. More than military causes have contributed, however, to the present defeat of the Nationalists.

A large section of Chiang's troops was in a very low state of morale. Pay was negligible, food and clothing poor, and general living and medical conditions deplorable. Many soldiers saw their officers living in comfort or even luxury. Some generals were known to boost the size of their armies by thousands of non-existent men, to draw pay and other supplies for them from the capital

and keep them for themselves. In spite of the execution of a number of officers found guilty of this charge, it is known that the evil was by no means eradicated.

Among the troops there has grown a general war weariness, emphasised by the fact that many of the men have been fighting far from their homes. These conditions have led to wholesale desertions to the Communists. Armies melted away and their excellent American equipment fell into the hands of their opponents.

In the territory at present held by the Communists, different areas are held by different Communist generals, independent of each other. Some have their own economic and military laws, their own currencies, their own brand of Communism.

So far, Mao Tse-tung has only a loose control over many of his generals and their untamed forces. It remains to be seen whether, in the end, he can really get their full co-operation if he tries to set up a firm Central Communist Government.

Mao has a rigid programme of reforms, many of which the country urgently needs. Some of these have been put into force ruthlessly in the provinces already under his domination. Opponents have been liquidated in the usual Communist manner. The familiar denunciatory "People's Courts", with their verdicts well known in advance, are in full operation. But the right family group system is such an age-old institution in China that it does not fit easily into the Marxist line.

Then, too, the Chinese are strong individualists and have always resented foreign interference or tutelage. Only time will show if Mao is prepared to go on knuckling under to Moscow, when and if he gets real power in his own hands.

#### FRIENDS EVERYWHERE

When asked his opinion of heaven and hell, Mark Twain remarked, "My dear lady, I can't say a word; I have friends in both places."

#### THE FAR EAST TURMOIL

*United Asia* is an international magazine of Asian affairs published in Bombay. The Special Chinese number which is on our table has many attractive features, all touching the life and history of China and the Chinese people, their country, politics, culture and art. In a survey of the Far East turmoil Mr. MacMahon Ball reviews the rise of Asian nationalism, and the resulting politico-economic problems.

The success of nationalism in East Asia, he says, has created new political problems.

Parties which were able to unite in resistance to outside control find it harder to unite on a positive programme. It is useless to exchange foreign tyrants for your own tyrants, for no war is so bitter as civil war. Much has been written of the inhumanity of Europeans to Asians, but I doubt if it has ever matched the inhumanity of Asians to Asians.

The first thing needed by the new national States of East Asia is internal political unity: governments whose authority is firmly based on the popular will and who do not need to exhaust their limited resources on the suppression of rebel groups. The second thing is economic progress. Most Asians live lives obsessed with the struggle for food. National independence does not automatically produce more rice, more bamboo and more tin.

These things need administrative experience and technical skill, both of which the new nations sorely lack through no fault of their own.

They will have to depend for a long time on the help of Western Powers who have achieved a much higher degree of economic development and are alone able to provide East Asia with indispensable help.

#### EXPLAINED

The reason why women make the most careful drivers is because they have so much practice at keeping under thirty.

## BASIC EDUCATION IN INDIA

The real aim of basic education is to bring education as close to creative activity and real production as is possible, writes Mr. S. P. Shome in *Careers To-day*. It does not run counter to the growth and organization of industry. If properly directed, it can give as practical a turn to the learner's mind as would enable him to pick up the mechanism of industry easily. In any case, technical training of the most modern type has to be provided in the highest stages of secondary education. As to the undue stress on hand-work, the scheme regards hand-work and brain-work as aspects of the same process of learning.

Basic education is the foundation upon which the job-training methods for boys and girls should be built up. It takes into account the most up-to-date educational theory of learning in terms of experience and activity rather than in those of facts to be stored and knowledge to be acquired. It is also in direct relation to life and its needs, and is therefore socio-logically sound in principle. It aims at co-ordinating mental with manual labour and adds dignity to labour. Moreover, it stands for a complete reorganization of educational ideals in India which will solve the acute problem of unemployment of the masses with a corresponding increase in the social evils that have their roots in the human failing of trying to get something on the material side of life.

"Why do you refuse to let me marry your daughter?"

"Because you have no money."

"But I have intelligence."

"I doubt it."

"Why?"

"Because you want to marry my daughter."

## AMERICAN METHODS IN INDIA

America has six per cent of the world's population and one-fifth of the cropland of the world whereas India, with its limited land, has to feed one fifth of the world's population.

This and other telling facts are contained in an article in the *Gramudyog Patrika* by Mr. J. C. Kumarappa wherein he points out the utter unsuitability of U. S. farming methods for Indian conditions. He writes:

In India, our land is considerably limited. It has to feed nearly one-fifth of the world in population. Hence we cannot afford to be wasteful in our methods. The recuperative power of land becomes a very important factor in our calculations. When we cultivate a piece of land, we are taking certain elements out of it and those elements go to enervate us. The land recuperates itself through various means within a certain time. We have to allow that time as well as rotate the crops grown, so as to fit into this cycle. This is a highly technical proposition, as this recuperation conditions the pace of our production from land. If we produce larger crops by more intensive cultivation we shall be reaching the stage of exhaustion sooner, after which the land will become fit only for jungle growth or will remain a desert. Hence it will be necessary for us to draw on our resources with considerable thought.

In some respects, says Mr. Kumarappa, America is in the position of a rich man's son who draws on his capital in addition to his income for his current requirements, while India is like a self-made person who is to equate his expenditure with his income.

Therefore, the rate of production in India has to be well balanced with the possibilities of the soil conditions. In America they are constantly converting cultivable land into grass land and forests with the deplating fertility, and drawing on better lands by reclamation. Lands that have been dislodged are open to the menace of erosion which washes away the cultivable soil. Because of their constantly drawing on virgin soil, it becomes increasingly important to use tractors. While they use tractors they also have access to the necessary fuel in their land. If we produce food on the basis of mechanization while the needed fuel for the motive power is not available in India, we shall be in a precarious condition. Our bullocks would have died out and at a time when fuel—crude oil and kerosene—is not available, we shall have to die like flies, as bullocks, for the needed power cannot be grown overnight.

## EDUCATION IN SOVIET UNION

Despite exaggerated claims to the contrary there has been a marked decline in education throughout the whole of the Soviet Union. So serious has it become that pressure from the highest level is being brought to bear on those whose task it was to bring literacy to the masses under Communist rule. Reviewing the position, American educationalist, Dr. Benjamin Fine, writing in *The New York Times*, says, a scarcity of teachers, high rate of truancy and an inadequate number of school buildings are some of the reasons for the grave deterioration of the whole educational scheme of the Soviet Union.

Several recent editorials in *Pravda*, official Soviet newspaper, have sharply attacked the breakdown in school conditions. In some areas they say children do not go to school at all. Under Soviet law, seven years of schoolings is compulsory in the cities, and four years in the towns and rural areas.

Children start school at the age of 7. Between one-third and one-half of all Soviet children do not go beyond the fourth grade, although there are ten grades. The classes are arranged into three divisions: the lower, or primary, consists of four grades, attended by children from 7 to 11; the intermediary consists of classes from the fifth to the seventh grade, and the secondary, making up the grades from the eighth to the tenth.

At present, the Soviet reports show that primary and secondary schools have 32,000,000 pupils in 198,000 schools, taught by 1,250,000 teachers. There are

about 700,000 students in the 800 higher educational establishments.

A detailed *Pravda* editorial assails the poor operation of the Soviet school system. It holds that too many children are not attending school; that the rate of school building construction is far behind schedule; and that the supply of clothes and shoes for school children is significantly below the plan. The editorial condemns the neglect of the schools in many areas.

## GANDHIJI IN HIS LAST DAYS

An account of the last interview he had with Gandhiji twenty days before the assassination is given by Sriman Narayan Agarwal in the *Modern Review*.

Sriman Agarwal reports Gandhiji as saying to him during the interview:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through!" exclaimed Bapu looking towards me. "Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

Gandhiji paused for a while and then continued in a low voice:

"Delhi to-day is burning with communal hatred and violence. The Hindus and Sikhs seem to have lost all balance. My appeals to them are of no avail. There was a time when my voice wielded magic with the masses; to-day it appears to have lost all its power!"

We had been talking for about thirty minutes in the room, continues Sriman Agarwal. I had never intended to take so much of his valuable time. But that day Gandhiji poured out his agony in a tone which was altogether unfamiliar. Exactly at seven, Pandit Nehru entered

the room; this was his daily programme. So I hurried to take Bapu's leave and went into an adjoining room.

As I left Birla House that dark night, these words of Bapu continued to ring in my ears:

"You do not know, Sriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through! Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

I had been in close contact with Gandhiji for the last twelve years. But I had never found Bapu in such a pensive mood. Nevertheless, I could not even dream that the "heavy days" would end so suddenly and soon, only twenty days after my last meeting with Bapu.

Gandhiji was undoubtedly great in life. He is even greater in his death. But the world will remain poorer in his death for a thousand years.

#### VAISHNAVA LYRICISM

"The rich poetic output by the devotees of Medieval India, for all its influence in this country, has been comparatively little known outside," says Shri Lalmohan Mookerjea writing in the *Aryan Path* for April on Vaishnava lyricism. A proper study of the Vaishnava poet reveals a poetic sensibility drenched deep in mysticism.

Poetic mysticism can be interpreted as that tendency to bore deep into the world of Infinitude, a disposition to prostrate the Mind before the Eternal Will and to bring the mysteries of faith close to the simplest facts of daily life. Inseparable from this was the creed of longing and of loss, which sought to spring from earth and to create its own heaven. The longing to have this sweet pulsation of feeling ever coursing through the human nature, constitutes the "lyrical cry." Again, as in Shelley, an intellectualized aspect of that desire shaped an eclectic idealism which

recoils from everything unaffected—a love of beauty which excludes the attribute of strength. So it was possible for the Vaishnava mind to conceive of Brindaban, an ideal world where "music and moonlight and feeling are one."

Now about the most inimitable loveliness of verse-music. Some of these poets at least, by instinct of verbal selection and charm of sound, come nearest to expressing the half-inexpressible—the secret harmonies of beauty.

We may define poetry as "the most intense expression of the dominant emotions and the higher ideals of an age"; yet we fail to convey any idea of the aesthetic bliss associated with the memories of the Vaishnava lyrics. These were actually sung. Their ineffable charm lies in the changing intonations and only awakes in the style of music which is wonderfully soft and melodious. And they were for the heart; so their exquisite lyric, charm and musical appeal filter down to the masses. Herein lies the secret of their popularity. Through the centuries they have claimed the sympathies and thrilled the imagination; they awaken a spirit of joyous abandon and tender sympathies in the masses wholly unconscious of the higher ideals of the age.

Yet this is not all. In these lyrics the thinker penetrates to knowledge through the reciter. At every instant, a calculated word which seems involuntary, opens up, beyond the veils of tradition, glimpses of philosophy.

#### "INDIAN AFFAIRS"

*Indian Affairs* is an attractive new monthly published by the Foreign Department of the Indian National Congress. The April and May numbers that have been received are packed with notes and news of all-India interest. Every Province and all the States (such of those that have survived) are considered, while the position of our countrymen abroad is surveyed periodically in these pages. We welcome this informative journal and trust that it will serve as a handy journal of reference on all matters of Indian interest.

# INDIANS OVERSEAS

## INDIANS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

### South Africa

#### S. A INDIAN QUESTION

The U N General Assembly on May 14, adopted the French-Mexican resolution by more than two-thirds majority, calling on India, Pakistan and South Africa to meet in conference to discuss the Indian S African dispute. The voting was 47 in favour, one (S Africa) against and 10 abstentions including Britain, Sovret Union, Argentina and Yugoslavia.

Earlier, India had announced that she would not press her own resolution, suggesting the setting up of a Commission to enquire into the position of South African Indians, and would support the French-Mexican resolution which found more favour among the members.

This is the second time in four years the General Assembly passed by the necessary two-thirds majority a resolution calling upon South Africa to settle its difference with India over the treatment of s Indian minority, writes P.T.I. Representative at U. N. Headquarters.

On the first occasion, in December 1946, when a similar resolution was passed, India had obtained a bare two-thirds majority, but the new resolution won an overwhelming majority of 47 to one, the sole dissenting country being South Africa. Another important change from the previous procedure was that Pakistan was associated with the talks the Assembly asked South Africa to hold with India,

## INDIANS IN SOUTHERN ASIA

### Burma

#### BURMA REBELS AND INDIANS

The Indian Embassy in Rangoon broadcast a warning to the Burmese rebels on May 12 that any harm done to Indians in their hands would be considered a breach of International Law. The broadcast asked that Indians held captive anywhere in Burma should be released immediately.

The broadcast was particularly addressed to rebels in the Tharrawaddy area, 30 miles north of Rangoon, where according to the broadcast, Indian officials employed by the Burma Government are "being threatened with punishment because of the execution of their duties."

The broadcast said Indians were foreign nationals and were being discharged as such by the Burma Government.

#### INDIANS THROWN OUT OF EMPLOYMENT

Some 750 Indian industrial workers have been thrown out of employment in recent weeks and another 5,000 are faced with a similar prospect as a result of large-scale disruption of Burmese economy due to country-wide fighting.

Those already retrenched include the employees of a dockyard and of a saw-mill which closed down outside Rangoon during April due to lack of materials.

Other Indians facing the possibility of being rendered idle include 2,700 workers in the petroleum industry, 1,000 in the mining industry, and another 600 in the river transport industry near Rangoon.

## Madagascar

### • INDIAN TRADERS EXPELLED

Mr Fiddaly Kaderbhai, an Indian merchant from the French colony of Madagascar, interviewed by the A.P.I. in Poona, stated that the Madagascar authorities were following "a systematic policy of expelling Indians from the island" He said:

The campaign of expelling Indians is now in full swing and during the last four months about 20 Indian traders have been compelled to leave the island for good.

Mr. Kaderbhai said that persons deported from the island were not told the reasons for this action. The deportees were also deprived of their valuables and property and compelled to leave by the first boat available with their families. They were not allowed to take more than a twelve to thirteen hundred rupees

Appealing to the Government of India to safeguard the interests of Indians settled in the island—many of them for over 50 years—Mr. Kaderbhai, who arrived in India last month said he had already written to the Prime Minister on the matter.

## Ceylon

### CITIZENSHIP ACTS

The Ceylon Indian Congress meeting at Hatton recently rejected the Ceylon Citizenship Act and the Indian and Pakistani Residents Citizenship Act, and asked Indians to ignore these Acts, and boycott registration under them.

The resolution characterised the provisions of these Acts as "humiliating, discriminatory, anti-social, impracticable, and ridiculous.

It demanded that full citizenship rights without any distinction between citizens by registration and citizens by descent, should be conferred on all Indians in Ceylon on their compliance of a simple and easily ascertainable factual test of residence, and a declaration of intention to settle permanently in Ceylon to acquire citizenship.

The resolution directed the Working Committee and the Ceylon Indian Congress Committee to take all the necessary or expedient steps in this connexion.

## Malaya

### INDIANS SENTENCED

If Mr Ganapathy's execution under the Malayan Emergency Regulations has been denounced as a monstrous miscarriage of justice, the sentence of death passed on Sambasivan in Johore is, according to a contemporary, deliberate outrage on Indian sentiment. We are told that the British Colonial Secretary's justification for non-intervention is that the British Government as such have no jurisdiction over Johore the latter being a protected State, and Sultan being the final authority in the matter. Commenting on this a contemporary reminds us that "the British Government did not view it so recently when an American national was involved in an incident; which shows that while the Sultan of Johore might be the final authority in matters concerning Malays the ultimate jurisdiction in the case of non-Malays is the British Government's. Otherwise, why should the Indian representative be accredited to the Government of Federated Malay States alone and not concurrently to the constituent States as well?

# MULTUM IN PARVO

NEWS \* DEPARTMENTAL \* NOTES

## QUESTIONS OF IMPORTANCE

### CONSEMBLY RATIFIES LONDON DECLARATION

The Constituent Assembly on May 17 ratified the London declaration on India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of nations by an overwhelming majority. Of the two amendments under discussion, Mr. Lakshminarayan Sahu withdrew his, while Mr. Shibanlal Saxena pressed his amendment which was rejected by the House. The only solitary voice heard in support of Mr. Shibanlal Saxena's amendment was that of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. Of the 15 speakers only two, Maulana Hasrat Mohani and Professor T. Shah opposed India's continued membership of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Alladi Krishnaswami Aiyar congratulated the Prime Minister on having solved one of the most knotty problems it faced India and the Dominions. He emphasised that the status and the position of the President of the Republic of India would remain entirely unaffected whether inside India or in any international gathering by reason of her accepting the King of England as the symbolic Head of the Commonwealth. It was a voluntary association which could be severed by India at will at any time.

Pandit Nehru in his brief reply reiterated his earlier observation that the London decision did not bind India for all time to come and that India could cut herself away from the Commonwealth if she found it impossible to pursue a policy consistent with her own ideas or disadvantages from the economic point of view.

### THE FUTURE OF KASHMIR

Sheikh Abdullah, Premier of Kashmir State, has issued a statement clearing certain misunderstandings created by an interview he gave to a British correspondent some time ago. It may be expected that Sheikh Abdullah's statement would dispel all doubts created by the publication of the interview, first in a few British newspapers and then in a section of the Indian Press

"The alliance between India and Kashmir," Sheikh Abdullah said "is not artificial nor based on any arbitrary consideration or on sentimental factors. It is the community of ideologies and the goal of having secular democracy established in our country and fighting with grim resolve exploitation of man by man that constitutes the corner-stone of our friendship and alliance with the people of India.

The steadfast adherence to our ideal always urged us to fight the Muslim League ideology and to stand up against Pakistan which represents a theocratic State. . . .

Again, at the time of the Pakistan engineered attack on Kashmir, when the administration there had completely collapsed and when no power on earth could have stopped Kashmir's accession to Pakistan, if it so desired the National Conference resisted the attack, refused to go to Pakistan, and not only saved Kashmir from physical extermination and ideological suicide, but also vindicated the great ideal for which Mahatma Gandhi stood.

In view of what I have said before, it is absurd to say that Kashmir still thinks of any other alternative, so far as the question of accession is concerned. What we want is peace and prosperity for our people. Independence may be and is a charming idea. But, as I have said before is it practical too? Has it got the necessary sanctions and guarantees, and can a small country like Kashmir, with its limited resources, maintain it? Or are the authorities concerned in a proper political temper at the present moment, to give their willing assent to it? By only a formal declaration of independence, shall we not be making Kashmir a victim of some unscrupulous and powerful country? That will be a gross betrayal of the cause we have stood for. For all these years, and therefore, these and similar other considerations make the alternative of independence, not only theoretical, and academic, but also meaningless."

## UTTERANCES OF THE DAY

### THE PRIME MINISTER ON THE COMMONWEALTH ISSUE

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, replying to the two-day debate in the Constituent Assembly on May 17 on the Commonwealth issue, appealed to his critics not to view the question in a party spirit.

"I think," said Pandit Nehru, "it should be possible for people who differ considerably in regard to internal policy to have more or less a unified foreign policy. It is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything with those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not of India at all as the primary thing. But with people who think in terms of India's independence and progress, there should be a great difference in our foreign policy."

Pandit Nehru said that the London decision fulfilled and did not go against "any pledges of ours." That is to say, it did not come in the way of India going forward to her natural destiny of a Sovereign Independent Republic.

Indian freedom and independence were in no way affected. The Republic that the House had decided upon would come into existence without any commitment which might tie it down in any way.

"We would have achieved that, of course, in any event," said Pandit Nehru, "but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. To achieve it with the goodwill of others who perhaps are hit by it is some achievement. It shows that the manner of doing things is a manner which does not leave a trace of evil, hatred, bitterness or ill-will behind. On the other hand, it starts with a fund of goodwill and goodwill is always precious from any quarter. Therefore, I had the suspicion, when I was considering this matter in London, that in a small measure perhaps I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhiji. I am thinking more of the manner of it than of the thing done."

### "MUST MAKE GOOD ECONOMICALLY".

One of the tests by which the decision should be judged was whether it helped or hindered India in making rapid progress. India had in a sense solved the political problem but was faced by many economic difficulties. They were her domestic concern, no doubt, but the world could help or hinder any policy that she might adopt.

"I am prepared to go ahead even without external help," he went on, "but obviously it will be a far more difficult task and it will take a much longer time. During these critical years that face us, it is important that made good economically, as we have done politically. We have to see whether this (the London decision) generally helps us to gain strength and to build ourselves up in the near future or not."

Another test Pandit Nehru said, was whether in the world as it was to-day, it helped in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. No Government dare allow its country to be unprepared for contingencies. "We have to prepare ourselves unfortunately," he added,

unless we are brave enough to follow completely the policy that the Mahatma laid down. But it is not so much a question of my being brave or your being brave, but of the country being brave enough to follow and understand that policy. I do not think we have been brought up to that level of understanding and behaviour and, indeed, we talk about that great level when, in the last year and a half, we have seen the lowest depths of behaviour in this country. So let us not invoke his name in vain in this connection.

### "FUTURE NOT BOUND DOWN".

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the London decision in no way bound this or any other country. It was open to the present House or the next Parliament at any time to break the link if it chose--not that he wanted that link to be broken, but he was merely pointing out that the future had not been bound down in the slightest degree.

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## POLITICAL AND PERSONAL

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### THE HINDU MAHASABHA

The Working Committee of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at its two prolonged sitting held at New Delhi in the second week of May, adopted an eight-point political and economic programme of nationalisation of land and all key industries in India.

In a number of resolutions, the Working Committee disapproved India's entry into the Commonwealth, and urged the Government of India to withdraw all restrictions on opposition parties and allow them full scope for free expression and free association.

The Committee held that there was no longer any justification for holding a plebiscite in the Jammu and Kashmir state.

The Working Committee reiterated that the Mahasabha would function as a political party on its platform and with its own programme.

The political and economic programme which the Working Committee adopted after three hours discussion covered subjects including land, industries, labour, administration, defence and education.

### A.I.C.C. MEETING

By an overwhelming majority, the All-India Congress Committee, meeting at Dehra Dun in the 3rd week of May, ratified the London declaration of India's continued membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and declared that the London decision was entirely in accordance with the directive contained in the foreign policy resolution of the Jaipur Congress.

While the A.I.C.C.'s endorsement of the London agreement was a foregone conclusion the absence of any effective opposition to the resolution was unexpected.

### I.N.T.U.C. SESSION

The three-day Session of the Indian National Trade Union Congress concluded at Ludore after a five-hour sitting on May 8 during which it passed seventeen resolutions, including one expressing gratification at the agreement reached at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, which made it possible to India to become an independent Sovereign Republic, and yet remaining in the Commonwealth.

Another resolution on "Objectives" stated that it was

a special mission of the I.N.T.U.C. to help in building up a new life in India on the basis of Gandhiji's ideology, which seeks to create a just and happy social order, in which exploitation in any form and anti-social concentration of power or wealth will not exist.

The I.N.T.U.C. therefore recommended to the affiliated Unions to take up activities for raising the character, intelligence and capacity of the working class, instilling in them devotion to work and a sense of responsibility for the social group, and consideration for dependents and those weaker, especially women and children.

### DR MANOHAR LAL

We deeply regret to record the death of Dr. Manohar Lal, former Finance Minister of the united Punjab and a well-known economist, at Ambala. He was aged 70.

In his death, as the Punjab Premier Mr. Bhim Sen Sachar said, India has lost one of her foremost economists. He had a deep knowledge of economics and financial problems. He was undoubtedly a man of versatile ability and his passion for knowledge was amongst his outstanding traits of character.

He tried to serve his province to the best of his ability, first as Education Minister and later as Finance Minister for a number of years.

### ACHARYA BHAVE ON BASIC EDUCATION

Inaugurating the All-India Basic Education Conference at Permaickenpalayam on May 8, Acharya Bhave said that basic education must be made self-supporting.

India is a poor country and unless education becomes self-sufficient, it is not possible to make it universal. The paper schemes will not help it. Our Governments have not enough money to make education universal and we have got to see it is self-sufficient. If worked out properly, the basic scheme of education would not be costly and could be made self-supporting.

Only through basic education, Acharya Bhave said, could a Sarvodaya Samaj be created. Appealing to provinces, who have not done so to pay attention to the scheme, Acharya Bhave said he had one fear that the scheme when taken up by the Government might change its original form and prove quite contrary to expectations. Opposing the suggestion that the settlement should be made a four or five year course, instead of the seven year course as proposed by the Hindustani Talimi Sangh, Acharya Bhave said, "education was a perfect thing in itself and could not be cut into pieces like that."

### ENGLISH IN SCHOOLS

English will be taught in all Secondary schools in the Madras Province from Form I, instead of Form II as at present, from the next school year commencing in June, 1949.

This decision was taken by the Government last month, in response to representations by several Teachers' Association and public and parents' organisations.

### KERALA UNIVERSITY

With the integration of Cochin and Travancore, the Travancore University will be developed into a Kerala University and all colleges in Cochin will have to be affiliated to it. This question was considered at length at a meeting of the representatives of Cochin and Travancore held recently at Trivandrum. There is a strong section of opinion in Cochin that no hasty step should be taken in this direction and that it will be prudent to wait for the report of the University Commission appointed by the Government of India before any change is effected in the existing relationship of the colleges there with the Madras University.

### HINDI IN OSMANIA UNIVERSITY

The Academic Council of the Osmania University has approved a proposal that the University should henceforth be an affiliating University and should recognise private colleges under certain rules and conditions. The proposal is subject to the approval of the University Council.

The Academic Council also accorded sanction to the opening of a new department of Hindi in the Faculty of Arts, and approved the courses of studies proposed for it.

### FINE ARTS COLLEGE IN MYSORE

The question of starting a College of Fine Arts in Mysore is under the active consideration of the Mysore Government and a Committee has been constituted to work out details. It is authoritatively learnt.

## SYDNEY COTTON'S GUN-RUNNING EXPLOITS

Frederick Sidney Cotton, Chairman of the Aeronautical and Industrial Research Corporation of London, was fined £200 at Bow Street Magistrate's Court on a charge of gun-running to Hyderabad last year. He was further ordered to pay £300 costs. The Corporation was also fined £200 with £300 costs on a similar summons.

The summonses alleged contravention of Air Navigation Orders relating to the carrying of arms and ammunition. Both Cotton and the firm pleaded guilty. Two similar summonses adjourned from January 12 were withdrawn on application by Mr. Stephenson on behalf of the Ministry of Civil Aviation.

## INTERNATIONAL LAW COMMISSION

Sir B. N. Rau and Mr. V. Koretzky (U.S.S.R.) have been elected Vice-Chairmen of the International Law Commission. The Chairman of the Commission is Mr. Manley Hudson (America).

India has been elected to the eleven-man sub-committee which was formed to scrutinise the representative character of organisations or parties in the former Italian colonies requesting a hearing.

## CHIEF JUSTICE OF ASSAM

The Governor-General has been pleased to appoint Mr. Justice Thakurdes Vasannai Thadani, a Judge of the Assam High Court, to act, until further orders, as Chief Justice of that Court in the vacancy caused by the retirement of Mr. Justice R. F. Ledger.

## FEDERAL COURT'S REPORT

The Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, accepting a report of the Federal Court, has ordered the removal of Mr. Shiva Prasad Sinha from his office of a Judge of the Allahabad High Court.

The Federal Court to whom a reference was made by the Governor-General at the instance of the United Provinces Government in respect of certain charges made against Mr. Sinha held that the charge of judicial misconduct against him was established in respect of his decision and conduct in what are known as the Padmapa Case and Murarilal's case.

There were four other charges against Mr. Sinha, namely improper exercise of judicial functions: judicial indiscretion, indecorum and impropriety, and incorrect declaration of his birth date.

The Federal Court held that these four charges had not been established and much of the court's time was unnecessarily spent in investigating them.

## THE NEW ADVOCATE-GENERAL

The Gazette of India announces the appointment of Mr. M. C. Setalvad, leader of the Indian delegation to the U. N. Assembly, as Advocate-General for the Dominion, vice Sir N. P. Engineer granted leave.

Mr. Setalvad, a well-known advocate of Bombay, who took office on May 29, would be allowed private chamber practice and he would not stay in Delhi.

Besides appearing for Government before the Federal Court, the Advocate-General gives legal opinion on many knotty problems facing the Central Government and its Ministries.

## TRADE AND FINANCE

### PROVINCIAL FINANCES

A suggestion that the Government of India should have exclusive control on all import duties levied on commodities of all-India importance like food-grains and industrial raw materials has been made by the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry in a memorandum submitted to the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

It suggests that a percentage of the taxes levied by the Central Government on goods of all-India importance should be handed over to the Provinces on the basis of their production and consumption.

Entitled "Trends of provincial finance," the memorandum draws attention to "the overlapping and conflicting taxation measures and the fissiparous and even anarchic tendencies that are developing in the field of provincial finance."

### A CENTRAL TRIBUNAL

An ordinance giving powers to the Government of India to refer all industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies having branches or other establishments in more than one province in India to Industrial Tribunal constituted under the Industrial Tribunal Act was promulgated by the Governor-General Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, last month. The Ordinance came into force at once.

The ordinance, which is called, the Industrial Disputes (Banking and Insurance Companies) Ordinance 1949, also prohibits references by Provincial Governments of industrial disputes concerning banking and insurance companies to any tribunal or other authority for adjudication, inquiry or settlement.

### INDIAN CO-OPERATIVE UNION

The eighth All-India Co-operative Conference, which met at Bangalore on May 15, has decided to form an Indian Co-operative Union which will in future control and guide the co-operative movement in the country. The general body of the Union will devote its attention to the promotion and propagation of the co-operative movement in the Indian Union including the acceding States. It will organise co-operative education and training and conduct researches in the field of Co-operation. All future All-India Co-operative Conferences will be held under its auspices.

### INDIA'S DOLLAR CREDIT

India has exhausted, at least temporarily, its Dollar purchasing authority with the International Monetary Fund.

It is learned that it drew a further 75,00,000 Dollars in exchange for rupees in March, leaving a mere 20,000 Dollars of the 100 million Dollars originally available to it.

India's was the only currency transaction with the Fund in March, and the country thus sustained its reputation as the most consistent operator of all members.

### 3 P. C. LOAN TO BE REPAYED

The Government of India have decided to repay the whole of the three per cent rupee loan 1949-52, at par on August 1, 1949, with all interest due up-to-date, according to a notification issued by the Finance Ministry. Interest will not accrue on the loan after August, 1.

### GUJERAT COMMERCE CHAMBER

Mr. Kasturbhai Lalbhai has been unanimously elected President of the newly formed Gujarat Chamber of Commerce.

## Mrs. V. L. PANDIT ON INDIA'S POLICY

Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, India's Ambassador to the United States, at Washington reaffirmed that India intends to "steer clear of" any alignment with any Power Bloc.

Mrs. Pandit in her first Press Conference since assuming her office, expressed the firm belief that it would be possible for India to live together with the Eastern and Western worlds. It was demonstrated in the face of mutual danger in the second world war, she declared. "I believe it could be demonstrated again."

Mrs. Pandit said she regarded the U. S. and Russia as the world's "two Power blocs"

Asked whether she would not include Britain, she declared: "It is inevitable that the U. S. and Russia should be regarded as the two Power Blocs. The power resided in the U. S. Europe counts for little, because the U. S. gives backing even to Britain."

India, she added, looked upon herself as an advocate of world peace. She strongly opposed to racial discrimination and the subjugation of peoples.

## WOMEN POLICE OFFICERS

Calcutta's first batch of women police officers, numbering 24, received their appointments on May 14. They include seven graduates and one M.A. Seven of the new recruits have been appointed Sub-Inspectors and the others, Assistant Sub-Inspectors. They will undergo a year's training, commencing from June 1 this year.

Sixty-one posts for women have been sanctioned in the Calcutta Police. There were about 130 applicants out of which 24 were selected.

## EQUAL PAY FOR WOMEN

The women of the world decided that women should get equal pay for equal work, but could not decide who should urge their claim. The decision was taken by the United Nations Commission on the Status of women.

Three separate regulations tabled by the United States, Russia and China, were merged into one urging equal pay for equal work, which was adopted paragraph by paragraph without an overall vote

Miss Mary Sutherland (Britain) wanted the demand for "the rate for the job" to go to the International Labour Office, but Dr Cecilia Sieu Ling Zung (China) protested, and said it was a matter for the United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organisation. Then Miss Dorothy Menyon (United States) backed up the British plan.

Mrs. Lakshmi Menon (India) said reference to the ILO would weaken the resolution. Then the Chinese delegate changed her mind and agreed to the British American suggestion of referring it to the ILO.

The Soviet delegate then advised Dr. Sieu Ling "not to listen to the advice of others since it might lead you into trouble". The Chinese delegate retorted that she was "not being ordered about," "I take my orders from no one" she said spiritedly.

Peace was restored with a compromise addressing the resolution to both UNESCO and ILO.

## WOMEN CONVICTS IN U. P.

The United Provinces Government is transferring all women convicts of the province to one jail, it being considered desirable to keep them together, watch their psychological reactions in jail.

## GENERAL

### C. R. AT THIRUVANNAMALAI

Declaring open the Patalingam Temple, consecrating the spot where the well-known saint Shri Ramaṇa Mahārishi performed his "tapas" in his early days, the Governor-General of India, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari, said that Shri Ramaṇa Mahārishi had kept "India's spiritual glory alive in our generation."

"He has in his own way made the name of India respected by wise and enlightened men spread all over the world, even as Sri Ramakrishna Paramahansa and other saints did it in former times," Mr. Rajagopalachari added.

Ramaṇa Mahārishi's meditation took early shape in this temple. Let us tender our tribute of reverence and homage to the enlightened soul, and may his prayers on our behalf bear fruit. Let us be worthy of him."

The Governor-General thanked at the outset Mrs. Feroza Taleyarkhan, kinswoman of the late Justice Taleyarkhan, who took the initiative in constructing the temple, and in organising the opening ceremony.

### NEHRU STADIUM

A magnificent sports stadium, befitting the grandeur of the capital of India, and named after the Prime Minister, Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru, is to come into being in New Delhi before November 1950. This was one of the decisions reached at a recent meeting of the Working Committee of the National Sports Club of India.

It will be recalled that the National Sports Club of India had decided to construct a Nehru stadium in New Delhi

and a Vallabhbhai Patel stadium at Bombay. At the first meeting of the Working Committee of the club held on April 19, it was decided to give priority to the Delhi stadium so that it might be ready before the Asian Olympic meet in 1950.

At its last meeting the Working Committee decided to build the stadium on the Ferozeshah Kotla site, providing for cricket, football, hockey and tennis. The Olympic section to accommodate athletics and cycling and swimming is to be in the Irwin Amphitheatre, which will be located inside the Nehru Park.

### MILLION HOMELESS IN BOMBAY

About one and a half million people in Bombay are either homeless or ill-housed and nearly half a million of them live on the pavements, according to a team of A.P.I. staff reporters who have just concluded a study of the city's housing problem.

In this connection it is learnt that the Government of India is negotiating with a Swedish firm to set up a factory at Thana in Bombay to build timber houses on a large scale to supplement Government's housing programme. It is learnt The houses which this factory will manufacture will be constructed to suit the climate and habits of the people of India.

### FOOD SUBSIDY

A subsidy of Rs. 20,50,00,000 is estimated to be paid by the Government of India during the financial year 1948-49, for providing the 'subsidy' of imported food grains to the public at rates lower than cost price.

